

# IN THESE TIMES

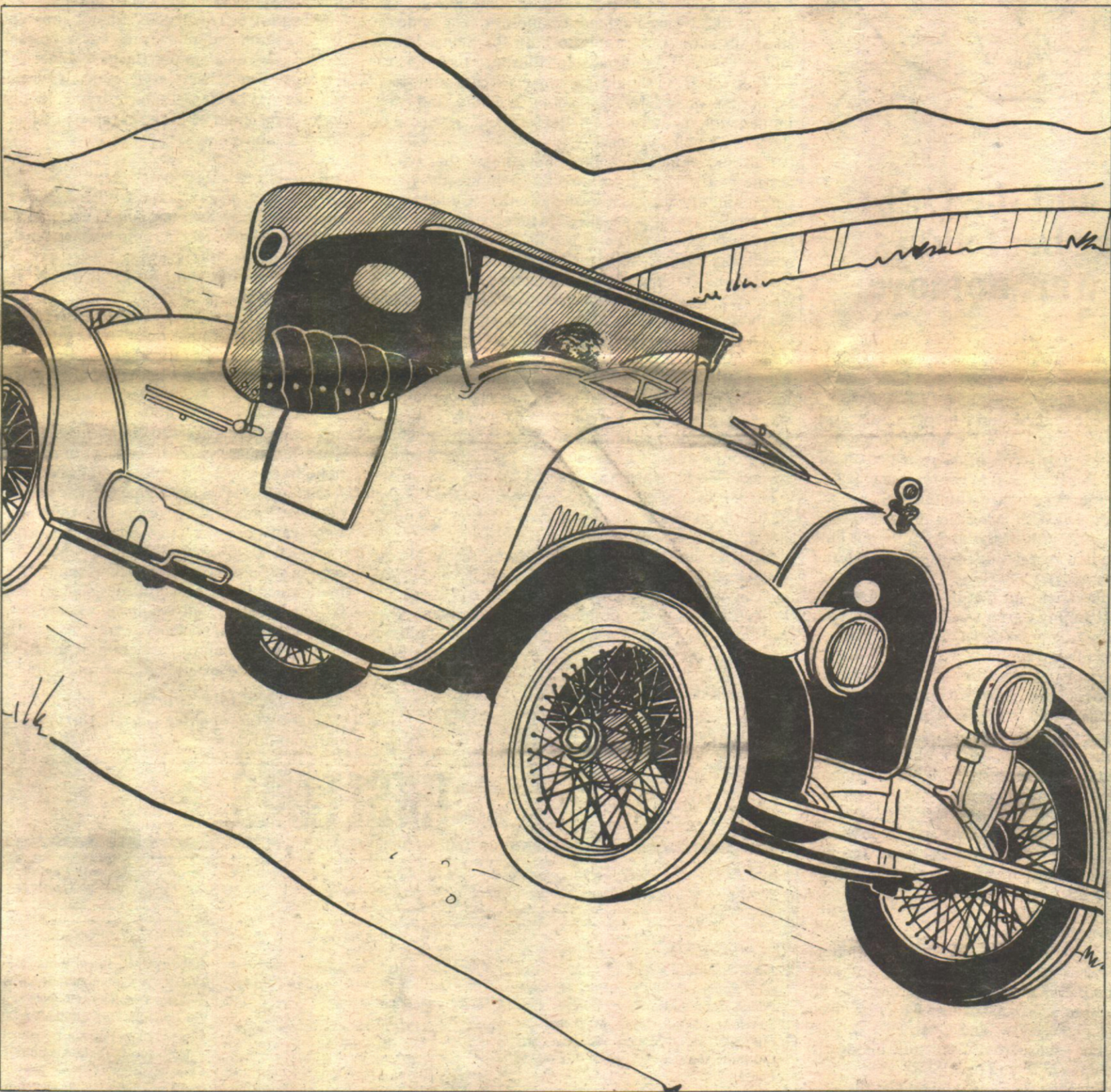
Vol. 1, No. 26

May 18-24, 1977

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



## China and the U.S.: strange bedfellows make war, not love

Can a fire-breathing dragon out to enslave the world and a paper tiger with nuclear teeth find happiness in the 1970s?

Since the late '60s Chinese and American policy has increasingly converged. In China the momentous struggle over Mao's successor seems to have yielded an administration that sees the USSR as the main enemy and looks favorably upon an alliance with the U.S.

In the U.S. there has been increasing discussion since Richard Nixon's 1972 visit of the desirability not only of full normalization of relations but of military ties between the two countries.

It appeared from statements that he had made during his campaign that Jimmy Carter would not follow Nixon's path. But after the breakdown of the SALT talks, Carter has turned toward China.

Early this month talks were begun with China on normalizing trade relations. In April an American delegation visited China, which was joined at the last moment by Carter's son Chip and key Carter China adviser Michael Oksenburg. And both Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance have recently announced trips to China in the next year.

On the Chinese side, the defeat of the "gang of four" and the ascension of Hua Kuo-Feng has been widely interpreted as a victory for pro-American and anti-Soviet policy. Last January, the Chinese quelled rumors of a possible Sino-Soviet rapprochement.

### ►USSR the main enemy.

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communist party has been wracked by dissension over China's foreign policy. One of the main issues that divided Lin Piao, Mao's designated heir who died mysteriously in 1971 plane crash, and Chou en-Lai, who was China's acting leader from 1971 until his death, was policy toward the U.S. and the USSR.

Chou, along with Mao tse-Tung, argued that the U.S. was declining militarily and that the "social-imperialist" USSR was the main threat both to the world and to China, while Lin argued that the U.S. and the USSR were equal enemies. While Chou argued that the U.S. would withdraw its troops from Southeast Asia, Lin is reported to have believed that the U.S. would remain bogged down in Southeast Asia and that the USSR would offer concessions to ease its border conflict with China.

The Soviet buildup along the border from 1969 to 1975 and the American withdrawal from Vietnam were seen to confirm Chou's point of view and led to a series of Chinese overtures to the U.S., beginning with the invitation to Nixon. During the next years, Chinese

trade with the West grew dramatically and is reported to have included requests for American arms. The Chinese came to support NATO and to oppose American withdrawal from South Korea. And in opposing the MPLA in Angola or recognizing Pinochet in Chile, they seemed to follow a policy of befriending Soviet enemies, whatever their stripe.

Recent evidence suggests that the debate over Chinese policy toward the U.S. was carried over into the conflict between the "gang of four" and Hua's new regime with the "radicals" arguing against reliance on the U.S. for arms. Their ouster would therefore signal a victory for the Chou-Mao foreign policy.

In late December the Chinese came out with their strongest statement yet. A Standing Committee member of the Chinese National People's Congress said in Japan that a third world war was inevitable unless Brezhnev's regime is overthrown or Soviet power is checked by "joint pressure" from Western Europe, Japan, China and the U.S.

### ►U.S. military ties?

After the Nixon visit in 1972, American/Chinese relations temporarily stagnated under the impact of Watergate. The Carter administration revealed recently that Nixon had promised the Chinese that he would normalize relations during his second term.

But in 1975 with the publication in *Foreign Policy* of an article on "U.S.-Chinese Military Ties?" by Michael Pillsbury, a staff member of the Rand Corporation, it became apparent that a debate was taking place within the Ford administration and inside the Pentagon that augured a continuing shift in the American China policy.

Pillsbury argued that the U.S. should modify the "specious policy of 'evenhandedness' that now governs exports of advanced defense technology. The same restrictions should not apply to both the Soviet Union and to China." As a first step, Pillsbury recommended that the U.S. should exchange defense ministers, encourage allied sales of weapons to China, and offer limited military assistance in the form of "defensive or passive weapons systems."

Pillsbury enumerated three advantages that would accrue to the U.S. from directly or indirectly giving China military aid: (1) it would give the "Chinese military establishment... a stake... in preserving good relations with America;" (2) it would discourage a Soviet attack on China, which "would jeopardize world peace;" and (3) by increasing the Chinese military threat, it would "bring corresponding decreases in Soviet forces available for combat against U.S. allies."

Pillsbury's views were amplified last summer by Roger Glenn Brown, a senior analyst at the CIA, who published an article "Chinese Politics and American Policy" in *Foreign Policy*. Brown argued that "prolonged stagnation in Sino-U.S. relations could well contribute to undermining the political power of those individuals and groups within China which are favorably disposed toward Washington, and lead to an increase in the relative power of either pro-Soviet elements in the military, the radicals [i.e. supporters of the "Gang of Four"], or some coalition of both groups."

Brown argued for immediate recognition of the Peking government along the lines of the "Japanese model," in which diplomatic relations with Taiwan are broken but close economic ties are preserved. With Pillsbury, he holds open the possibility of "military ties" of China.

### ►Two computers to China.

While Pillsbury and Brown's proposals remain extremely controversial, there are indications that they found some

acceptance within the Ford-Kissinger administration and may now in the Carter administration.

In 1975-76 in line with Pillsbury's proposals, France, Great Britain, West Germany, and Japan all arranged to sell Peking defense-related goods. The U.S. could have blocked these sales through COCOM (the Consultative Group Coordinating Committee) that oversees all defense-related trade by Western Europe, the U.S. and Japan with communist countries. But the U.S. conspicuously chose not to exercise its veto.

In fall 1976 the U.S. approved the sale to China of two Cyber 172 computers, which have military uses. To cover itself, the Ford administration also offered a computer to the Soviets, but such an offer does not really amount to "evenhandedness" since the Russians already possess similar computer technology while the Chinese do not.

In the fall Kissinger made several statements that could have been construed as tying American security interests to those of China. He said that the U.S. would "take an extremely dim view of a military attack or even pressure" on China. He said the U.S. would consider any threat to China a "grave matter."

The Ford-Kissinger turn toward China in 1975-76 seemed to reflect the motives enumerated by Pillsbury for strengthening U.S./China ties.

The approval of the computer sales was six days after the "gang of four" was arrested and in the wake of Soviet intervention in Angola, suggesting that their joint purpose was to solidify U.S. ties with the new Chinese leadership and to retaliate against the Soviet Union for its Angola policy.

The Carter administration's recent warming toward China follows a similar pattern, coming in the wake of Brezhnev's rejection of American SALT proposals and continuing instability in China.

How far Carter will go is still not apparent. A policy of recognition and military ties has strong support both in Congress and among Carter cabinet officials and advisors. But other Carter officials, including Paul Warnke and Leslie Gelb, have argued that military ties with China could be at the expense of detente with the Soviet Union.

### ►No more "proletarian internationalism"

For the U.S. the turn toward China has represented another tactic in the continuing struggle to preserve its global hegemony. Its purpose has been to seek new assistance against the growing power and influence of the Soviet Union and to prevent the re-establishment of the Sino-Soviet alliance.

For the Chinese, however, the turn toward the U.S. represents the abandonment of a foreign policy that weighed the interests of world revolution against China's national interests, for a policy based entirely on China's national interests as a state among other states.

CIA analyst Brown notes approvingly how Chou en-Lai's close associate and later foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua abandoned the concept of proletarian internationalism in a November 1975 speech on China's foreign policy. Previously, the Chinese had distinguished between "peaceful coexistence," which was supposed to prevail among socialist and capitalist countries, and "proletarian internationalism," which is to prevail among socialist countries. According to Brown, Chiao maintained that "peaceful coexistence" applied to relations between "all countries whether they had the same or different social systems."

Out of such subtle distinctions is the frayed tapestry of recent Chinese diplomacy woven.

*Special thanks for information and analysis to David Milton and to Banning Garrett's writings in the International Bulletin.*

## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, IL.

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Jane Melnick, Art and Photography, Kerry Tremain, Design, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Susan Pearson, Jerry Sontag, Production Assistants.

Printed at Merrill, Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

### BUSINESS

Judee Gallagher, Advertising / Business, Torie Osborn, Circulation, Carol Becker, Office Manager.

### BUREAUS

SAN FRANCISCO: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, 4120 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 658-6754. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 111, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

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This edition published May 18, 1977, for newsstand sales May 18-24.





# Seldom a discouraging word

By Ian Austin  
Interviews

Spurring strong economic growth to create new jobs will take a back seat to the fight against inflation as a result of the May 7-8 Downing Street summit. Leaders of the top seven industrialized countries expressed strong concern over pervasive joblessness in the West, especially among young people. But they also agreed, in the words of Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, that "to bring the rate of unemployment down at the cost of higher inflation was not acceptable."

Because of their overriding concern about inflation leaders at the summit also backed off from any direct attempt to press Japan or West Germany to stimulate faster domestic growth—although that had originally been viewed as one of the main reasons for holding the summit. Instead, Bonn and Tokyo along with the U.S., agreed to stick to their current moderate growth policies—a commitment that is expected to put hardly a dent this year in the combined unemployment of 15 million in the 24 non-communist industrial countries.

## ► A secret agreement.

For months before the summit, Carter administration officials had been pressing West Germany and Japan to join the U.S. in stimulating domestic growth as a way of pulling the rest of the Western countries out of lingering recession. The idea was that the three, with the strongest economies, would then be able to absorb more imports from countries with weak economies like Britain, Italy and France.

Yet at the summit—at least in the formal sessions—there was reportedly no attempt by anyone to press Bonn or Tokyo to step on the accelerator. For one thing, West Germany had made it clear that it would flatly reject any effort to induce it to risk a new bout of inflation in order to help out its neighbors. To have pushed Chancellor Helmut Schmidt any further in London would have meant risking a public quarrel. That was the last thing any of the summit leaders wanted since a major psychological aim of the conference was to boost business confidence through a show of common purpose and confidence in the future—even

The seven leaders who gathered in London claimed that unemployment was their first priority—but they backed away from doing anything about it... Instead, they affirmed each other's policies and hoped for the best.

if the leaders could not in fact agree on policy.

In addition, both Schmidt and Japan's Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda are politically weak and were in no position to make bold changes in policy—particularly if it meant publicly reversing past positions under pressure from the U.S.

And Carter appears to have changed his own position on the question of economic stimulus. The switch in Carter's policy was signaled by his decision shortly before the summit to junk the \$50 tax rebate, knocking \$11 billion off his \$30 billion stimulus package. Rejection of the tax rebate, which stunned Europeans, indicated that economic recovery could take care of itself, and that the need now was for greater efforts to combat inflation.

All of these factors contributed to a secret agreement reached April 25 at a private meeting in France attended by five of the powers—Italy and Canada were not invited—to drop the issue of stimulating growth. Britain, Italy and France were not happy with the decision, but apparently went along in the interest of summit harmony.

The summit's decision to opt for cautious growth will likely produce new challenges to the principle of free trade. Whatever their public commitment to free trade the summit leaders' unwillingness to take steps to sharply decrease unemployment will increase the already-growing pressure within each country for trade barriers to protect existing jobs.

## ► Third world debts.

The other major area of discussion at the summit was the problem of financing the deficits of oil-consuming coun-

tries—both in the West and the Third World. The OPEC nations are running an estimated annual trade surplus of \$45 billion. That means they are taking in \$45 billion more in oil revenues than they are currently able to spend. The OPEC surplus is matched by a deficit spread unevenly among oil-consuming nations. For Third World countries the problem is exacerbated by increases in the prices of goods that they buy from the industrialized countries. By the end of last year, Third World debt was estimated at \$180 billion.

The Carter administration, like the other governments represented at the summit, is anxious to find new ways to finance these swelling debts. For one thing, they want to avoid defaults and to divert calls from the Third World for debt relief. They also want to prevent developing countries from restricting imports as a way of cutting down their trade deficit. In addition, the commercial banks—which were only too glad to finance much of this debt a few years ago—are getting cold feet about continuing to loan to countries in serious financial trouble.

The summit leaders endorsed two proposals to help finance these deficits. The first called for expanding the International Monetary Fund by increasing quotas among the 130 member nations, and by setting up a special multi-billion lending facility with a large component of Arab oil money. Plans for the special facility are currently in limbo because Saudi Arabia has not agreed to put up the \$4 billion being sought from it by the IMF. The summit also endorsed a \$1 billion fund to be set up by industrialized nations to aid the poorest countries.

In addition, the seven leaders agreed to work toward setting up of a "common fund" to stabilize commodity prices.

What developing countries want is a \$6 billion fund, with contributors from industrialized and oil-producing nations, that could be used to buy and sell buffer stocks of commodities like coffee and tin.

The summit leaders are aware that funds channeled to the poor countries are quickly spent on goods purchased from the industrialized nations. In fact, France and other countries have suggested that the Third World may provide one of the best avenues to economic recovery among the industrialized countries. The idea would be to expand the purchasing power of the developing countries largely through loans so that they can buy more from the West. The funds to provide the loans could be drawn heavily from Germany and Japan, as well as from OPEC surpluses. That would enable Bonn and Tokyo to boost economic recovery among their industrial partners without domestic pump-priming that could produce new inflation.

## ► Hang together or separately?

Beyond all the specific issues which made their way into the final communique of the Downing Street summit was the more profound question of whether the industrial nations are capable of coordinating their economic policies in the best interests of the capitalist world as a whole. That issue is of prime concern to economic and political leaders of the non-communist nations, and it is one of the chief themes of the Trilateral Commission.

The decline of the cold war had reduced the importance of security ties that bound the industrial countries together and submerged the economic competition among them. At the same time, the capitalist world is experiencing new and serious economic troubles that require coordinated policies from its leading members. In these circumstances, will the industrial nations hang together or hang separately?

At the London summit the seven nations avoided a real test. Instead they limited themselves to endorsing each nation's present policies in the hope that these policies will mysteriously provide just the right combination of measures to finally pull the West out of its deepest recession since World War II.

A special report from London  
by Mervyn Jones. See page 9.



## PROTEST

Kissinger opposed  
at Columbia university

*Kissinger's public acts  
make his appointment  
at least a grave question,  
if not a moral issue.*

New York. The Vietnam experience may no longer be much of a public issue, but the possible appointment of Henry Kissinger to the political science department of Columbia University has served to refocus the attention of students and faculty on the Vietnam era and on the relationship of the university to society.

Criticism of the offer of an endowed professorship to Kissinger has grown firmly and steadily since word slowly issued from the university of negotiations with Kissinger that dated back to November 1976. On April 28 Professor of Government James W. Morley, chairman of the political science department, revealed that the offer to join that department had gone out to Kissinger and that the university was awaiting his response.

Columbia President William McGill, according to one informant, has been successful in the drive to raise several million dollars from foundation and/or corporation sources to endow the Kissinger chair. Columbia officials praise the former Secretary of State as a fine mind who would put years of political experience to optimum use in academe. But opposing student and faculty groups say that Kissinger is unfit for the post and is in effect attempting to buy it.

Student opposition has centered most significantly within the very department to which Kissinger would be assigned. Meeting in general session on April 28 the Public Law and Government Society, official student organization in the political science department, voted approval of a strongly-worded resolution demanding that negotiations between Columbia and Kissinger be terminated.

The resolution asserted that Kissinger was responsible for "numerous illegal and unethical acts incompatible with the purposes of the university...including active complicity in the subversion of civil liberties of his fellow citizens and collaboration in the murder of civilians in Indochina, Chile and other parts of the world." It also alleged irregularities in the university's negotiating procedures.

Other student organizations have collected over 1,200 signatures on a petition opposing the appointment and have organized meetings and protests. In a front-page editorial April 28 the *Columbia Daily Spectator* claimed that Kissinger's actions should disqualify him from consideration for the post. The *Spectator* said that Columbia is on a "celebrity hunt" and that Kissinger is being sought "not for the value of his ideas but for the value of his prestige."

The Kissinger affair has raised the question of the political connection between the university and society. The *New York Times* editorialized on April 14 that opposition to Kissinger would be a "grim precedent for all higher education" and that barring him from the position would be a "stunning loss for the students and faculty of Columbia." Columnist James Wechsler asked in the *New York Post* of May 4 "whether a university derives strength from diversity" or whether it is to be "intimidated by zealots who claim a monopoly on truth and virtue."

Those opposed to the appointment say the administration should judge public figures by reasonable standards, insisting that even though the university routinely allies itself with the needs of the state, Kissinger in an honored chair is a prospect far beyond the ordinary contracts, consultation and government service. They argue that Henry Kissinger's actions in public life make consideration of him for an endowed chair at Columbia at least a grave question, if not a moral issue.

The offer now rests in the hands of Kissinger. One pro-administration faculty member hinted recently that Kissinger might well decline. He did not offer reasons, but lamented that the Kissinger opposition would receive the credit for keeping him away.

—Philip Akre

Philip Akre is a student of politics and part-time cab driver in New York City.

## MILITARY SPENDING

House votes small  
military spending cut

Congressional concern with governmental priorities and military spending in particular came to a head in late April. The House Budget committee began the battle by cutting \$4 billion from Carter's military request in an attempt to maintain more of a balance between defense and domestic spending in the proposed budget.

When the budget reached the floor, however, Carter and Defense Secretary Harold Brown lobbied heavily to restore their full military request of \$120 billion. During a nine-hour session on April 27 the full House voted to restore the \$4 billion demanded by Carter.

The House then went on to defeat an amendment offered by Rep. Parren Mitchell that would have transferred \$6.5 billion of military spending to domestic programs. The Mitchell transfer amendment, however received a strong 102 votes, indicating that military spending levels would be a crucial issue for liberal forces when the budget came up for final passage.

Early on the morning of the 28th the House overwhelmingly defeated the entire budget package 320-84, sending it back to committee. The lopsided vote against the budget included most of the liberal Democrats angry at military increases as well as most of the Republicans who did not want to be recorded voting for a nearly \$70 billion deficit even though they had contributed to it by voting for more military spending.

Reconsidering the budget, the House Budget committee cut \$3 billion from Carter's request—\$1 billion more than it had recommended the previous time—and reported the budget to the House floor on May 5 where it withstood repeated challenges from conservatives wanting to increase military spending. The final figure was set at \$117 billion, \$6 billion below what former President Ford had proposed and \$3 billion below Carter's request.

Seventeen hours of house debate had been dominated by the proposal to decrease Carter's military budget by a mere three and one-third percent. The amount was relatively insignificant, but House liberals had been determined to make a cut and preserve it.

Many of the moderate and liberal members had been under heavy pressure from constituents to support the larger reduction in military spending proposed in the Mitchell transfer amendment. Pressure had come from the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, its member organizations and hundreds of community groups organized in at least 16 states; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and SANE.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors endorsed the Mitchell proposal with a letter from Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson. City councils in New Jersey, Ohio and California also endorsed the amendment as did the National Council of Senior Citizens, the United Mine Workers and the National Farmers Union.

Massachusetts Gov. Dukakis and Lt. Gov. O'Neill supported the transfer, and resolutions urging its passage were introduced in the Massachusetts, New Jersey and Connecticut state legislatures. The *Chicago Sun Times* took the lead among major national media by editorially endorsing the concept of the Mitchell amendment.

Organizers of the campaign believe that the House would not have made the minor cuts it did without constituent pressure for larger reductions. They see the prospects for passing major transfer amendments increasing over the next few years as Carter forces domestic programs to bear the burden of balancing the federal budget.

—Jack Nicholl

Jack Nicholl is codirector of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C.

## Filmmaker faces jail in Silkwood case

A Los Angeles filmmaker may soon be in jail for refusing to turn over to a U.S. District Court in Oklahoma City materials relating to Karen Silkwood. On April 13 Buzz Hirsch, citing First Amendment privileges as a film researcher resisted an order from Judge Luther Eubanks to turn over materials he had gathered in preparation for a film about Silkwood, a laboratory technician at an Oklahoma Kerr-McGee plutonium facility until her untimely death enroute to a meeting with union officials and press in which she planned to present evidence of irregularities at her plant. Hirsch also refused to answer deposition questions from a Kerr-McGee lawyer concerning confidential conversations and interviews the 32-year-old filmmaker had conducted in and around Oklahoma City.

Both the questions and the order for materials come in the context of a \$160,000 federal suit filed by relatives of Karen Silkwood against Kerr-McGee officials, three FBI agents and a Nashville journalist. The suit charges a conspiracy to harass and intimidate Silkwood because of her union organizing activities and her efforts to report nuclear safety hazards at the Kerr-McGee plant to the press and government.

The Silkwoods also hope their legal action will shed some light on the strange circumstances of Karen Silkwood's death in an auto accident in November 1974. Friends have maintained that she carried documents that indicated that Kerr-McGee was guilty of negligence in its plant operations and that it could not account for all its plutonium. No papers were

found after her fatal accident.

Hirsch believes that naming his sources would have a "chilling effect" on people knowledgeable about the Silkwood case who have not yet made their information available. He argues that a film researcher should be protected by the same rights as a journalist. "We're making the argument that since we've made assurances to our confidential sources, we won't reveal them as sources for the information that they've given us. We wouldn't have the story if we didn't have these people that cooperated with us."

Judge Eubanks, however, ruled that First Amendment privileges do not apply in this instance and ordered Hirsch to produce all requested materials. Hirsch replied that he did not have the materials, which were in the possession of his as-

sociate Larry Cano in Los Angeles.

Eubanks then ordered Hirsch into a deposition hearing room where he was questioned for 12 hours over a two-day period by Kerr-McGee lawyers. During the interrogation Hirsch invoked First Amendment privileges more than 100 times. Kerr-McGee attorney William Paul (current president of the Oklahoma State Bar Association) promised to file a request for a contempt citation against Hirsch for his refusal to cooperate.

Hirsch expects to be summoned before Judge Eubanks at any time and faces the prospect of an indefinite jail sentence. He could be held until he turns over the requested materials or until a higher court reverses Judge Eubanks.

—David Keller

David Keller is a freelance writer in Hollywood.



## POLITICAL ANALYSIS

## Carter may be worse than a Republican

By Alan Wolfe

Is Jimmy Carter really a Republican in disguise? Some liberal members of Congress are already asking themselves this question. They are certainly justified in doing so. Despite promises to the American people and despite the support of labor and blacks, Carter has to this point said very little to those who are victims of unemployment and economic stagnation except that they may have to pay more for gasoline.

But, in reality, Carter may be worse than a Republican. It would seem that the men who make economic policy for Carter have made a fundamental decision: they have determined that the entire scope of federal social policy since the New Deal is flawed and that what we need—shades of Herbert Hoover—is a return to the “market.”

Each year there takes place an event at Harvard university called the Godkin lectures. Various policy makers come to Cambridge and lay bare the political theory behind their policies. In the past McGeorge Bundy used this opportunity to call for stronger government and Nelson Rockefeller spoke for the need for creative federalism. This year the Godkin lectures were given by Charles Schultze, Carter's Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors and the man reputed to be the brains behind Carter's domestic policy.

In his lecture, which will be published next December but which was previewed in the May 1977 issue of *Harper's*, Schultze tells us what this country needs is a strong dose of *laissez-faire*.

#### ►Two ways to do things.

Schultze notes that there are two kinds of ways by which the government can pursue social policies. Output-oriented rules seek to regulate the economy directly, while process-oriented intervention seeks to achieve a given end indirectly by affecting the process through which it is pursued. If the goal is a reduction in pollution, an output-oriented policy would prohibit the burning of certain fuels, while a process-oriented approach would make it so expensive to use them that few would be foolish enough to do so, even if they could.

Schultze claims that we have been so output-oriented in this country that we have ignored the other approaches based on process. This has had, according to him, two negative consequences.

First, government has been taxed beyond its limit. “We cannot afford to go on imposing command-and-control solutions over an ever-widening sphere of social and economic activity.” Output-oriented regulations drain the state fiscally, and besides, they mess up the market, which is still the best way to allocate wealth.

Second, what Schultze calls “the temptation to overregulate” has caused political problems. It has destroyed the fragile consensus that exists in this country by arousing the ire of the right while leaving the poor dissatisfied and wanting more.

What we need, Schultze argues, is to change “the incentive structure.” This means a much greater reliance on attempts by government to shape the market, not to counterbalance it.

What does this mean in practice? Schultze claims that instead of government prohibiting nefarious practices, a system of incentives should be created such that business will be encouraged, but not commanded, to make the socially desirable choice. If one firm does not, then surely another one will.

#### ►Vouchers for the poor.

So much for regulation of business. What about income distribution and social policy toward the poor? Schultze comes out strongly for vouchers, an idea whose intellectual roots is in the far right

*Despite some fancy language borrowed from welfare economics and the “public choice” school of contemporary economic theory, Schultze's vision is a return to the worst features of 19th century Malthusian economics.*

wing of the Republican party. He lays the blame for the failure of past social policies in the tendency to want to command people to do certain socially beneficial acts.

We must instead, he suggests, give them a choice. As far as possible all social welfare programs should be replaced by grants to individuals, not institutions, he argues. No money should be given to colleges, just to students; none to hospitals, just to potential patients. Then if a hospital cannot balance its books it should make itself efficient or close.

Such voucher schemes, in his view, accomplish two goals: they give people choice and so are compatible with liberty, and they force sellers of social products to shape up their procedures.

#### ►A return to the 19th century.

Despite some fancy language borrowed from welfare economics and the “public choice” school of contemporary economic theory, Schultze's vision is a return to the worst features of 19th century Malthusian economics.

In the early 19th century England had a system called Speenhamland, under which the gentry guaranteed that nobody would starve. Such a policy, argued the liberals of that era, did the poor more harm than good for it undermined their incentive to work. Speenhamland was abolished and the market triumphed, with barbarism and injustice for all. This is what Schultze has in mind for 20th century America.

One example can be provided for the heartlessness of Carter's chief economic advisor. He argues that we have a double standard in America about social harm. If a business firm leaves an area and

causes unemployment, we do not complain, but if the government closes down a military base, we do. Schultze has a good point; both policies do harm to people. But he draws the opposite conclusion that neither is wrong.

Government, he says, is harmed by the “do no direct harm” rule. Policy makers never want to hurt people directly and thereby try to avoid controversial decisions. This, Schultze says, has gotten us into trouble by destroying our flexibility. We must abolish the “do no direct harm” rule. Apparently the best way to help people is to hurt them.

There is every reason to take Schultze's ideas seriously. Although he sounds like a right-wing extremist, he is one of the most influential men in Washington.

#### ►Already had impact.

His ideas have already begun to have their impact. Carter has announced general principles of welfare “reform.” These principles are fully in keeping with Schultze's philosophy. The plan, if it can be called that, would give people cash grants so they can buy services. An attempt would be made to cut through the welfare bureaucracy by giving welfare recipients “incentives” to find work and be “efficient” and “productive” citizens.

While Carter has delayed action on specific changes in the welfare system, when he does present a plan it is likely to come straight out of Schultze's Godkin lecture.

The irony of Schultze's ideas is that they are based on a myth. All of his proposals can be reduced to one principle: the market performs better than the state: “the buyer-seller relationships of the marketplace have substantial advantages

as a form of social organization.” But where, one may rightly ask, is this marketplace?

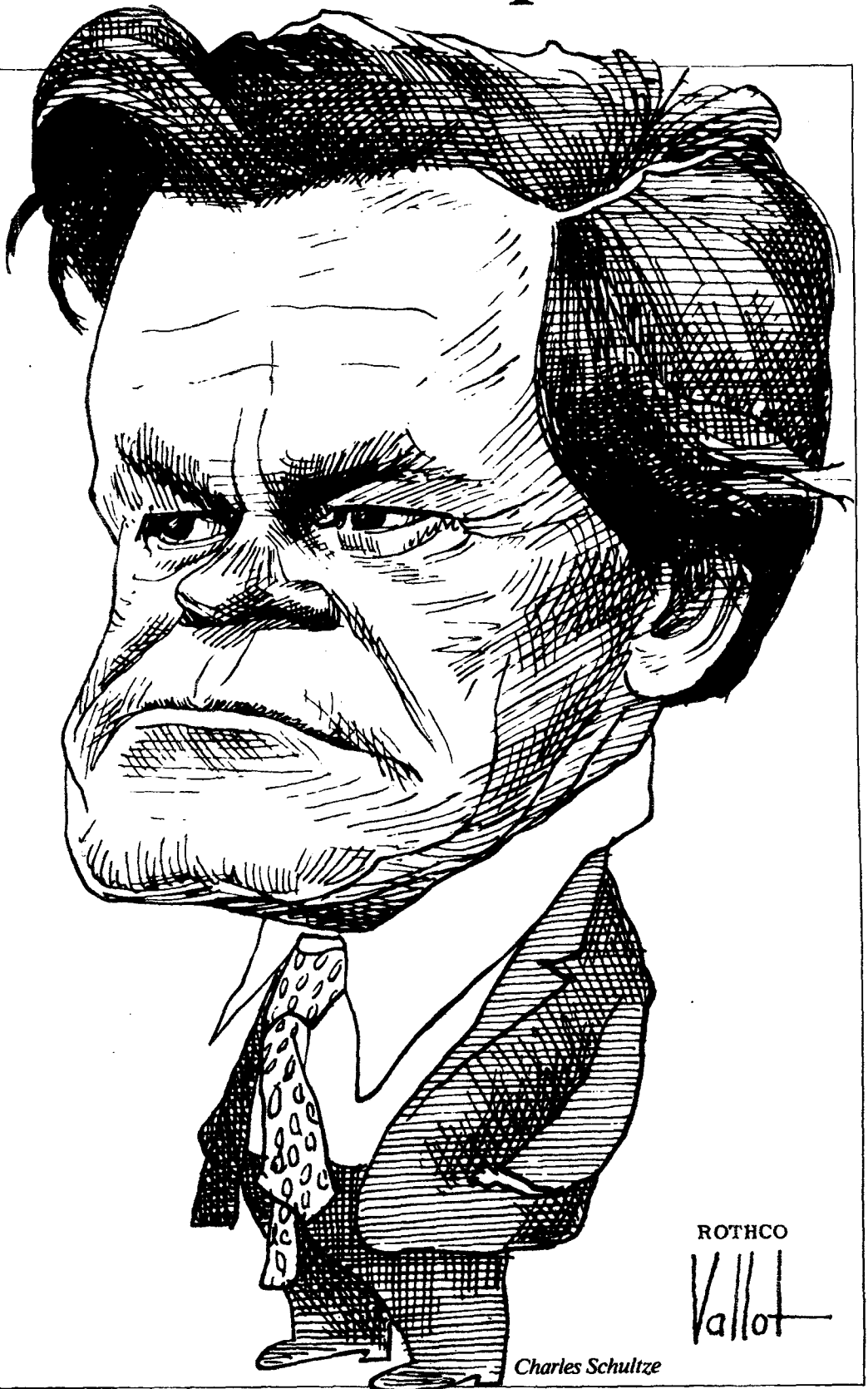
The “private sector,” as it is euphemistically called, is organized along monopolistic lines. It is perhaps the only aspect of American life more inefficient than government. The monopoly sector is artificially inflated, grossly inefficient, highly inequalitarian, and excessively self-protected. It has long ago forfeited any claim to provide for the common interest. Yet Schultze wants to rely on it. If we go his way, we will lose whatever little democracy and participation we now have in favor of social services *a la* I.B.M.

#### ►Total control over welfare state.

Now it becomes clear why Carter may be worse than a Republican. Much of the rump of the Republican party speaks for a wing of the business class that is competitive and still profit-oriented, especially the newer industries of the Southwest. These men have gripes against the monopolists of the older sectors of the economy, whose ability to avoid the market has made them more liberal politically.

A Republican president would be solicitous of specific businessmen. Cronyism is the Republican style. But Carter, speaking through Schultze, has emerged as a voice of the capitalist class as a whole, not one of its specific parts. The one thing the capitalist class does not yet have total control over is the welfare state. Apparently Carter, if he follows the advice of his Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, will give it that as well.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly on politics for *In These Times*.



Charles Schultze



## WOMEN

## N.Y. supports center for battered women

By Stephanie L. Twin

"Have you stopped beating your wife?" is an old joke used to describe an innocent man trapped in a catch-22 solution. His guilt is assumed whether he answers yes or no.

In the past couple of years, however, it has become obvious that wife-beating is no joke. It is neither a quaint and archaic cave-man custom nor a "culture of poverty" syndrome. It cuts across class, racial and geographic lines. At a recent conference in New York City Gloria Steinem estimated that wife-beating affects 30 percent of all women in every social class. NBC-TV claimed in January that it involves a million women a year. A marriage counsellor attending a battered women's counsellor-training session in Brooklyn reported that a Rabbi she was counselling had recently begun beating his wife.

Embarrassed, economically dependent, socialized to "stand by their men" and lacking options, women have too often simply put up with beatings and abuse.

In 1965 the Pasadena, Calif., chapter of Al-Anon, an organization for families of alcoholics, opened Haven House, a battered women's shelter. In 1972 the more well-known Women's House in St. Paul, Minn., appeared. Since then similar ventures have started in other cities. Most are privately funded, though a Fullerton, Calif., group operates on matching federal community development funds. Jacksonville, Fla., and Milwaukee, Wisc., are among the cities with groups addressing the issue.

In Los Angeles an organization called Women Against Violence Against Women has successfully publicized the problem there by protesting billboards and other cultural artifacts (like album covers) that display happily abused females (ITT, March 16).

## ►State supported center.

In Brooklyn a program both different from and similar to these has recently opened. The Center for the Elimination of Violence in the Family is, like other shelters, a refuge for battered women.

It is a place where they can get short-term support and assistance. An experienced, racially and ethnically mixed staff, supplemented by a corps of volunteers and interested professionals is being formed to help abused women through the maze of legal and welfare services.

Sympathetic women lawyers at legal aid societies are giving battered women's divorce requests priority and Women's Martial Arts Union members are serving husbands the summonses. Sympathetic female psychotherapists and family counsellors are offering longer-term assistance and an attempt is even being made to find men capable of counseling wife-beaters. The Center also operates a hotline.

However, unlike other shelters the CEVF is entirely state-supported. It is the first state-supported shelter in the U.S. "That is the most progressive move by far" on the issue, at least in the Northeast, says Ernest Caposela of the Council on State Governments.

Caposela feels the states are just beginning to understand the urgency and scope of the abuse problem and that New York's \$200,000 seed money bequest will encourage other states to follow suit. Already, he says, states in the Midwest are calling New York and New Jersey, which is moving fast on the abuse issue, for direction and advice.

## ►Cooperation between groups and legislators.

New York's ground-breaking involvement with battered women is the product of the combined efforts of two community groups and some liberal legislators. About a year ago the Brooklyn YWCA and the National Congress of Neighborhood Women independently drew up

proposals for battered women's projects.

The NCNW is a working-class feminist organization located in a lower middle-class area of Brooklyn. Its interest in an anti-violence program had developed naturally from its constituency.

The YWCA's interest had evolved as an unexpected offshoot of its rape crisis work. Y volunteers had set up rape sensitivity training sessions at Brooklyn hospitals and had been asked by nurses how to deal with battered women. In addition, abused women had been calling for help on the Y's rape hotline. At a Y community meeting the idea of establishing a shelter caught fire and a proposal was worked out.

At this point two liberal Democratic state legislators intervened for both the NCNW and the Y. Sen. Carol Bellamy, whose district includes that served by NCNW and who is a Y board member, took both proposals to the office of Senate minority leader Manfred Ornstein. They arranged for each group to be awarded \$100,000 out of the state's supplemental budget (not subject to legislative approval). The two organizations then decided to pool their resources and form the CEVF.

Serious planning for it began last August and in February staff interviews and volunteer training got underway. Currently the center is operating out of the Y, which has donated room and office space. The project hopes to move into its permanent quarters, an unused hospital building, by August.

## ►Breakthrough for all women's groups.

Jan Peterson, NCNW's founder, and Julie Morris, the Y proposal's chief architect, find it significant that the shelter is the first all-woman project funded by New York State. "The fact that a really feminist proposal like that got approved is a true breakthrough" for all women's groups, says Morris.

They are not counting on the state to refund them next year—a realistic assessment as the initial \$200,000 grant was meant as start-up money. Federal Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds are assisting the Brooklyn program, but Caposela expects that most future funding for abuse projects will have to come from private sources.

There are other roles for states to play in the abuse issue, however, such as developing an enlightened definition of the term. At present no state has a domestic violence statute.

Family assault is theoretically treated the same as general assault but, in practice, you're safer in the street than in your home. Police and family courts are notoriously lax in using the assault statutes against husbands. Their fears of "breaking up the family" or interfering in a family quarrel run strong. Court observers and abused women report that many male police officers and judges also "sex identify" with the husbands.

In New York City a coalition of women's groups is suing the Police department and Family Court for dealing with the situation unprofessionally and often illegally.

Ten bills designed to clarify aspects of the abuse issue, strengthen women's positions in it and/or facilitate the establishment of shelters are currently pending in New York. New Jersey is considering four. New York Assemblyman Stanley Steingut held a public hearing on battered women April 29, the same day that the Council on State Governments held an Eastern Regional Committee meeting on the subject.

Similar currents are underway elsewhere in the country. Both locally and nationally articles and television specials on family abuse have proliferated. Battered women are, as an aide to Sen. Ornstein put it, a "hot" or "in" topic—a welcome fact that is long overdue.

Stephanie Twin is a writer in New York.



Lionel Delevingne

## NUCLEAR POWER

## Seabrook arrests are bankrupting state

The detention of 1,414 anti-nuclear power protesters in New Hampshire is turning into a political fiasco for Gov. Meldrim Thomson. Demonstrators who occupied the site in Seabrook where a nuclear power station is planned have forced the state to incur tremendous expenses by staying in jail after arrest, demanding to be released on personal recognizance.

Outlays for the care and feeding of the detainees and maintenance of the National Guard has severely drained the state's budget. Gov. Thomson has appealed for contributions from "corporations, labor unions and rank-and-file citizens" to help defray the costs of holding the anti-nuke prisoners.

"Our battle of today can become theirs of tomorrow," Thomson proclaimed, arguing that other states "contemplating or producing the benefits of nuclear power" might be "invaded by a mob."

So far Thomson's plea has generated only \$1,775, enough for a few Big Macs, the standard meals supplied by National Guardsmen to prisoners.

Gov. Thomson apparently had hoped for major violence at Seabrook. Before the demonstration, he publicly said that the protesters intended to seize the nuclear power plant site and blow themselves up. But the state police refused to crack heads, keeping their poise in the inflammatory atmosphere the governor tried to create. When it became apparent to Thomson that his ploy for violence had failed he attempted to forestall the arrests in the hope that construction workers coming to work on the power plant would attack the protesters. He was also thwarted in this maneuver.

New Hampshire is the only state that does not have a sales or personal income tax, an incentive that has drawn industry from across the Massachusetts border. The flight of firms to this relatively low-wage, no-tax haven led Massachusetts Senate president Kevin Harrington to recently declare "war" on New Hampshire. Thomson revealed in the publicity of his

popularity is based on his promise that there will not be taxes while he is governor.

With secure support from the electorate, Thomson has embraced various right-wing quack causes. He has asked the federal government to arm his National Guard with nuclear weapons, flew the flag at half-staff when the Taiwanese were denied entrance to the Olympics and took a case to the U.S. Supreme Court against a couple who taped over the state motto—"Live Free or Die"—on their auto license plates. (The couple won.) The John Birch Society monthly magazine, *American Opinion*, recently ran an adulatory article on Thomson, citing his administration as having created an American nirvana. Thomson's Shangri-la is now faced with fiscal insolvency, however, partly because of the new tactics of the anti-nuke guerilla foot-soldiers.

The county where the demonstrators have been housed in National Guard armories has filed suit against the governor, insisting that it will not pay any of the costs. Thomson has requested emergency funds from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Agency, but it seems almost certain that this move will be fruitless. The Governor may be forced to ask the legislature for money—something he dreads since this will air the issue. The legislature may also reject his request, causing further embarrassment.

New Hampshire already faces a \$1 million deficit for the current biennium budget; a possible \$15 to \$20 million deficit looms for the next two-year period. "This state is really broke," New Hampshire Senate finance chairman C. Robertson Trowbridge said. Granite State voters may not be kind to Meldrim Thomson when they realize that he has pushed them into a fiscal crisis. The governor's 18th century dream may be a fallout casualty of the conflict over nuclear power.

—Sid Blumenthal

Sid Blumenthal is a writer in the Boston area and writes regularly for *In These Times*.



## ENERGY

By Roldo Bartimole

With utility costs zooming upward, residents here are on the verge of losing their publicly-owned electric utility. On April 26, Cleveland voters rejected a property tax measure that would have raised \$75 million over the next five years to bail out their 70-year-old ailing municipal light plant. With the defeat of the ballot initiative, the city's Republican administration is faced with a controversial political decision: whether to sell city-owned Muny Light to the privately-owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., thereby creating a monopoly for CEI in north-east Ohio.

Muny Light has undergone a barrage of criticism in recent years from local politicians, the mass media and industry representatives and has had several serious blackouts. CEI has offered to buy Muny Light from the city for \$158 million. The city of Cleveland, however, has responded with a court suit charging CEI with anti-trust violations whose aim was to put Muny Light out of business. If won, the suit could pay triple damages of up to \$325 million.

#### ►No interconnections or wheeling.

The anti-trust charges allege anti-competitive activity on the part of CEI in refusing and delaying interconnections requested by Muny Light for back-up power. CEI has for years also refused to "wheel" power, that is transfer electric power through its lines from a third party to Muny, which is geographically surrounded by CEI territory. Both interconnections and "wheeling" are common practices among electric utilities.

The lack of interconnections has caused blackouts of Muny power and forced the city to forego repairs and expansion of its generating capacity. When CEI finally was forced, under threat of Federal Power Commission intervention, to provide emergency power to Muny, the price charged was at the highest rates, sometimes four times that charged large industrial users.

Presently, the city owes CEI from \$9.5 million to \$17 million in disputed charges. The city is under court order to pay the lesser amount. The tax issue was put on the ballot in part to answer court demands for a plan of repayment to CEI.

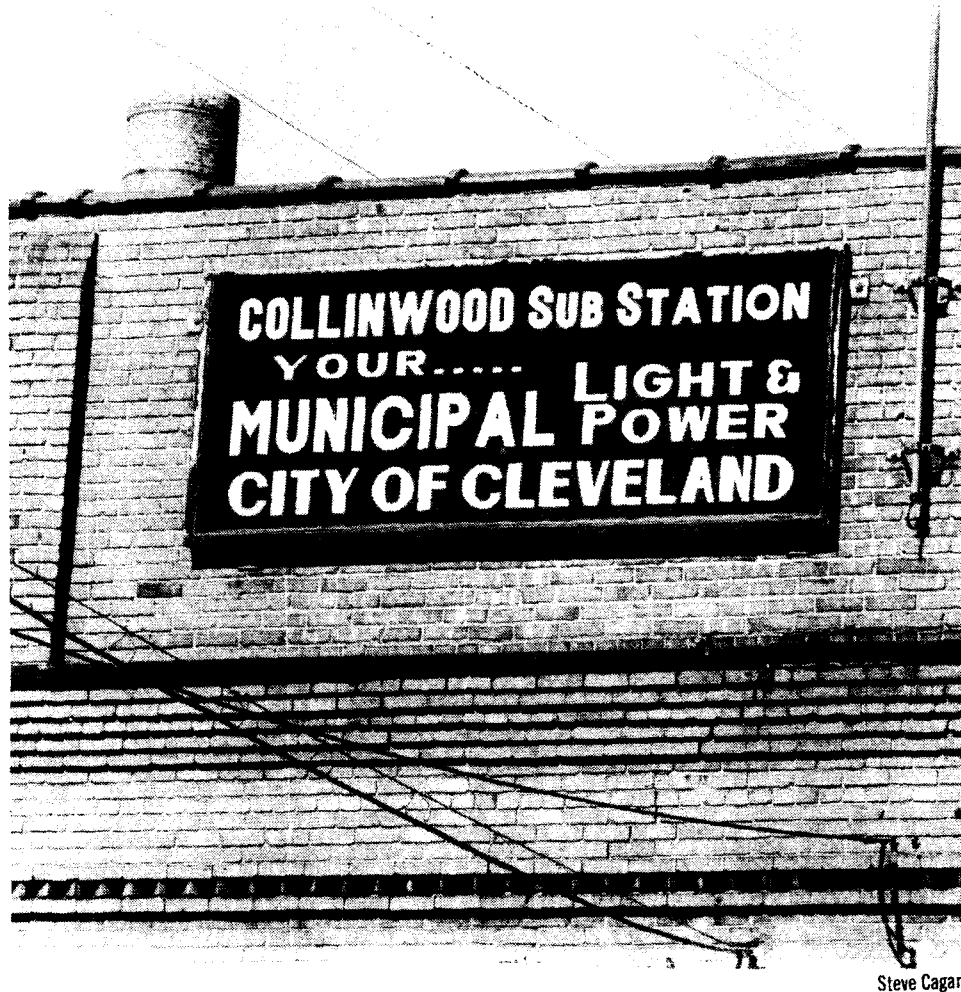
The Republican administration of Mayor Ralph Perk, despite past opposition, wants to sell the plant. Perk sees Muny as a financial drain. He has already used the sale of other city assets to keep the city fiscally solvent without seeking new taxes—a strategy that has won him three two-year terms. But there is stiff resistance to the sale from his major opponent, Democratic Clerk of Courts Dennis Kucinich, who charges a sell-out to corporate interests.

Sale of Muny to CEI has been a political hot potato in this highly unionized city, particularly because Muny customers, 20 percent of city residents, traditionally have paid lower rates than CEI charges. Kucinich has the means of not only making it a mayoral issue, but of bringing the fight into many of the city's 33 council wards where there are enough Muny customers to decide any close race. The council must approve any sale. The AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers are both on record against the sale, though neither have been vigorous opponents.

#### ►Puny Muny.

The Cleveland municipal plant was the brain-child of Cleveland's turn-of-the-century progressive mayor, Tom Johnson, who as millionaire street railway owner understood the power of a monopoly. It took him six years to break the electric monopoly in Cleveland by annexing a small community with a generating plant. Voter approval of a \$2-million bond issue in 1911, then gave Cleveland the largest municipal generator in the nation. By 1940 the system had 60,000 customers (down to 43,000 now) and has been credited with keeping competing CEI's rates low. As late as 1964 Muny also provided cheap power for city agencies, street lighting and generated up to \$1 million in surplus revenue.

# Cleveland's Muny electrical system under threat



Steve Cagan

***That the cut-throat tactics of the privately owned CEI system against Muny were deliberate was revealed in a secret internal memo leaked to the press. It described a five-year plan "to reduce and ultimately eliminate tax-subsidized Cleveland Municipal Electric System."***

In the late '60s, however, the plant experienced serious problems. Political patronage, old equipment, heavy capital demands and inability to grow beyond the city's boundary hampered the system. CEI's unwillingness to give the city proper interconnections to enable Muny to avoid blackouts and repair older equipment added to these problems as well. In 1968, a major blackout occurred, knocking out traffic lights and causing a major traffic jam in downtown Cleveland on a frigid Monday morning. The city plant began to be called Puny Muny in the news media and its image declined with each setback.

The city's charges of anti-trust violations were buttressed this year through findings of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Because of the huge federal investment in nuclear energy, the NRC is required to rule on anti-trust issues regarding the generation of electric power.

The NRC ruled that CEI and other nuclear generator owners had to share nuclear-generated power "at reasonable charges" and must "wheel" power to smaller plants. Its ruling attracted little national attention, though some people in electric utility anti-trust litigation see it as a landmark decision.

The NRC findings reveal some of CEI's cut-throat tactics and show that Muny's problems were not only caused by mismanagement, but also from CEI attempts to cripple it.

#### ►Helped cause blackouts.

The NRC found that CEI actually helped cause Muny blackouts by avoiding proper interconnections. It also dispatched in-

adequate crews when power transfers were made and forced the city to buy power at more expensive rates than were normally charged.

"When Cleveland needed power from CEI, the loan transfer was operated in such a way to cause an outage of Muny's system," the NRC concluded. (An outage is a period of time when the energy supply is interrupted.) "The resultant load of power proved damaging to Muny's relationship with its customers. CEI was aware that Muny outages resulted in the conversion of customers from Cleveland [Muny Light] to CEI, and CEI solicited the affected Muny customers after these outages."

In other words, CEI deliberately undercut Muny's ability to service its customers in order to convince customers to switch to the privately-owned company.

The report also charged that "CEI's load transfer procedures were arbitrary, cumbersome and not in keeping with modern prudent engineering practices." Transfers of power that could have been made in less than five seconds took far longer, also causing Muny service outages. CEI also established elaborate and time-consuming procedures for requests for power, some requiring up to 12 hours notice for help and then special clearances were necessary from CEI executives who were not always available.

#### ►Secret memo outlines plan.

That the CEI was well aware of the results of its anti-competitive actions was vividly revealed in a secret memo from its public relations director to the company's chief legal officer leaked to the press. The memo described a five-year plan "to reduce and ultimately eliminate tax-subsidized Cleveland Municipal Electric Sys-

tem."

It went on to say that the Muny situation "is one that has undergone considerable and severe damage during the past year. Outages have been frequent and often of major proportions. It has received 'bad press' because of this poor continuity of service...." The 34-page memo devoted special attention to programing and advertising directed at the black community. It also called for infiltration of social organizations of news executives, suggesting, continued close cooperation...with organizations that facilitate development of close personal relationships with the news media, such as Sigma Delta Chi Journalistic Society." (Interestingly, the society's business address is the office of the public relations office of Ohio Bell Telephone.)

#### ►Conflict of interest.

CEI also attempted to wring from the city a price-fixing agreement by which the city would increase its rates to equal CEI's higher charges in exchange for selling the city its electricity. Says the NRC, "CEI was aware that a parallel interconnection between CEI and Muny would improve the reliability of the Muny system and make it more competitive."

The price-fixing arrangement was devised by Square, Sanders and Dempsey (SS&D), the largest bond counsel in Ohio and legal representatives of both the city and CEI, as well as many Cleveland corporations.

A crucial bond issue for improvement of Muny's plant and facilities was written for the city by an SS&D attorney. At a city council committee hearing on the bond legislation amendments were offered by CEI's legal counsel and incorporated into the legislation. The amendments made sale of the bonds unlikely. When the SS&D attorney who had written the original legislation was asked by the City Law Director to defend the legislation against the amendments, he would not. The bonds went unsold for three years.

This time the city lawyers were more direct: "An outright betrayal," they charged, accusing SS&D lawyers of "privately arranging these [damaging] amendments" with a CEI board director. The city concluded: "Here again the city charges SS&D not merely with a possible conflict of interest but with direct sabotage of its interests." The city has since hired a New York City law firm to represent it in bond matters.

Although proponents of keeping the plant are not happy with past operations of Muny, they believe that the system can remain competitive with CEI by becoming a distributor, rather than generator/distributor, of power.

CEI's offer of \$158 million for Muny is misleading. The offer, according to a study commissioned by the city council, would net the city only \$28 million after debts are paid, with other aspects making the deal even less attractive. The CEI offer calls for \$120 million of the total to be paid in \$4 million-per-year payments over 30 years but with no interest charges. (Meanwhile, the city would be paying off its debt to CEI at interest rates not to exceed 8 percent). The study also indicates that the city could be paying as much as \$4 million a year to CEI for street lighting alone, thus off-setting the amount CEI will be paying for the system. Another major drawback is that the city would have to promise to drop its \$325 million law suit.

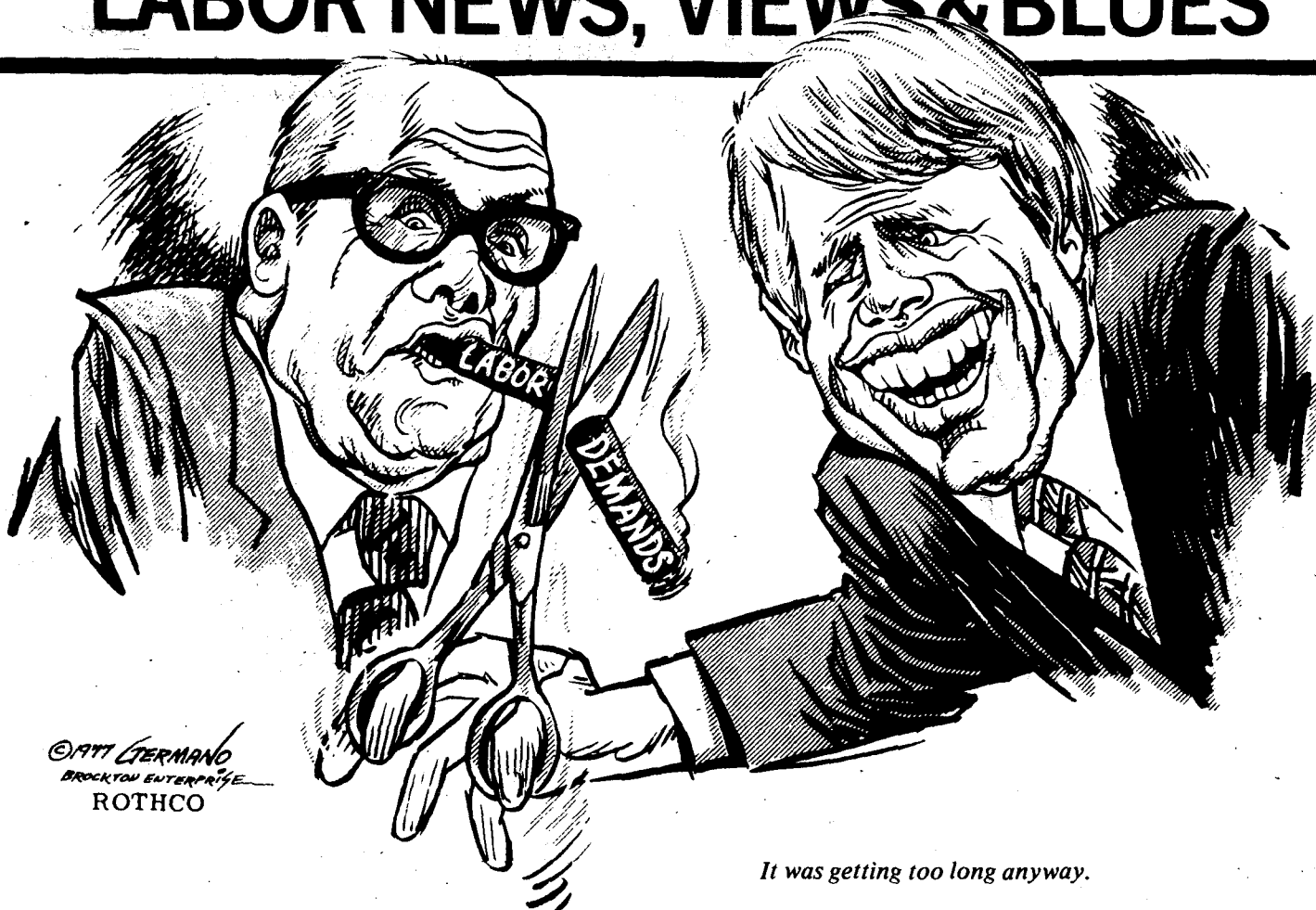
With the recent defeat of the property tax measure pressure is again mounting for the sale of Muny Light to CEI. The local media and city council president Forbes have interpreted the vote to mean that Cleveland residents no longer support the publicly-owned system. As of yet there is no citizen's movement to counter that impression.

One lawyer for the city council expects to negotiate with CEI for a higher purchase price. Mayoral candidate Dennis Kucinich's continued opposition to the sale may make it an important issue in the campaign.

Roldo Bartimole is editor of Point of View.



# LABOR NEWS, VIEWS & BLUES



*It was getting too long anyway.*

## Fitz should be expelled

Charging that the Teamsters union is "being operated primarily for the political and financial benefit of its top officials and business concerns," the Professional Drivers Council (PROD) has demanded that Frank Fitzsimmons resign from the union presidency and be expelled from the Teamsters.

Fitzsimmons has established near-dictatorial control over the union, PROD says, through his domination of the Teamsters convention and his appointment of union officials who are financially dependent upon him. In the process he has violated numerous provisions of the union's constitution.

The most damaging charges against Fitzsimmons, says PROD Executive Director John Sikorski, revolve around his "promoting and condoning the looting of union funds that are supposedly held in trust by union officials for the benefit of the membership." As a trustee of the Central States Pension Fund, Fitzsimmons has approved questionable loans to individuals associated with organized crime figures. Fitzsimmons was recently forced by the U.S. Labor Department to relinquish his trusteeship when control of the fund's assets was turned over to professional investment managers.

Fitzsimmons has actively engaged in nepotism, PROD charges, and has "appointed or arranged the appointment of a number of disreputable individuals, many of whom are widely reported to have Mafia connections." For years, one of Fitzsimmons' general organizers has been William Buffalino, a close associate of Russell Buffalino who was described in a congressional report as "one of the most ruthless and powerful leaders of the Mafia in the United States."

Fitzsimmons has also refused to utilize the union's disciplinary tools to cleanse corrupt elements from Teamster officialdom, PROD says. Tony Provenzano, for example, a former union vice president, is the principle officer of Local 560 even though he will soon go on trial for murder and for soliciting a Teamster pension fund kickback.

The Teamsters have acknowledged PROD's accusations and a union hearing is expected soon. Meanwhile, PROD has initiated a petition campaign to generate rank-and-file support for their ouster attempt.

## Retaliation in IBEW

On April 24 Dick Deason and the establishment officers of Local 1031 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical

Workers (IBEW) dealt a stunning 1400-500 defeat to the United IBEW Workers, a rank-and-file union caucus calling for more union democracy (ITT, April 27). In the wake of his election victory, Business Manager Deason has initiated a full-scale campaign to destroy the caucus.

Ten days after the election Deason dismissed seven duly elected stewards, all members of the United IBEW Workers. Included were Neil Burke, a chief steward and United IBEW candidate for local president, and Chester Smith, caucus candidate for vice-president. He also removed stewardships from several caucus candidates for the Executive Board.

Deason reportedly said that the dismissals were prompted by a caucus leaflet that called him a "hoodlum." Members of the United IBEW Workers point out, however, that the leaflet was not written by them but by members of the Revolutionary Communist party who supported their candidacy. (The caucus had earlier disavowed the RCP's support after the group had marched around one IBEW plant chanting and carrying red flags.)

According to Mark Bigelow, attorney for the United IBEW Workers, the dismissals constitute a violation of freedom of speech and of past union practice of electing stewards. "There is no question that the election and the dismissals are connected. The candidates were canned for campaigning and running for office. The positions were filled with people who are clearly political cohorts of Deason and who, in fact, had been beaten in previous steward elections by United IBEW members," he told IN THESE TIMES.

"We've got to get this into the open, into the public view," says Genevieve Fields, caucus candidate for Recording Secretary who also had her steward badge taken away. In addition to gathering support from community groups, the caucus has begun an in-plant petition campaign demanding that all stewards be reinstated. They are also considering court action against the union.

The dismissals came after the Riley Co. had fired Charles Scott, a caucus candidate for Executive Board, on the day the polls closed. Scott had worked there 17 years and views his firing as part of the retaliatory attacks on the caucus. He has filed a grievance with the union.

The caucus may also contest the election on the basis of "reasonable access to polling places." In order to vote union members in Chicago were impelled to travel on a Sunday to the far west side of the city, while workers in outlying areas (where the caucus had fewer contacts) were able to vote in plant parking lots. These election rules, which were drawn up by the Deason-appointed election committee, account for the tiny vot-

er turnout, say members of the Union IBEW Workers. Only 7 percent of eligible union members voted.

## Cincinnati teacher strike

Striking teachers in Cincinnati have effectively closed the city's schools and are holding firm in the face of a court injunction and anti-union tactics by the local school board. Represented by the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT), Local 1520 of the American Federation of Teachers, the 2,000 teachers struck April 13 after three and one-half months of negotiations failed to produce a contract.

On April 25, the Cincinnati Board of Education fired six teachers for strike-related activities. The board charged four of the six with "unprofessional conduct" after they had filed assault charges against drivers who had struck them on picket lines. The CFT is demanding that the teachers be reinstated and that an agreement include a no-reprisal provision.

On May 3 the board obtained a permanent injunction against the strike. Public employee strikes are illegal under Ohio law. Since no complaints have yet been filed, pickets remain in place at the district's 104 schools.

Teachers' demands include a 16 percent raise (to cover losses to inflation in the last three years), binding arbitration of grievances, limits on class size, no layoffs and restrictions on teacher transfers. The board claims to have no money for salary increases though it ended 1976 with a \$7.5 million surplus.

Student attendance has dropped daily since the strike began. Conditions in the struck schools are chaotic and the CFT has demanded that the board close the schools and begin serious negotiations. Contrary to state law, teachers' aides are being placed in charge of classes in many schools. The superintendent of schools has vowed that the schools will remain "open" during the strike, but admitted to the *New York Times* that the education program is at a "virtual standstill."

Meanwhile, the strikers have received support from parents, local citizens and other unions. Parents are angry because the quality of education has seriously declined in recent years. Six years ago instructional hours were cut to save money. The CFT has strongly emphasized educational issues like class size. The union also fought school closings in poor communities and has joined with community organizations to protect art, music and physical education programs in the elementary schools.

On April 23, 200 people formed the Citizens for Responsible Education to demand that the board negotiate in good faith and settle the strike. Three days lat-

er the group packed a board meeting to demand the reinstatement of fired strikers, while 1,000 teachers picketed outside.

At most schools union drivers have stopped deliveries and garbage collection.

The strike demonstrates a degree of teacher unity never before achieved in Cincinnati. All teachers voted on the strike and will vote on the contract ratification. Despite board attempts to intimidate the strikers the teachers seem determined to hold out for their contract demands. All striking employees have been sent letters announcing that their hospitalization insurance will be cut off. The board has also threatened mass firings under Ohio's Fergusan Act on selective dismissals of union activists.

Striking Cincinnati teachers returned to work May 10 though a new walkout may occur this week over terms of the new contract. The contract was ratified Monday night over strong opposition, including three out of the eight members of the union bargaining committee who voted against it. The contract does not satisfy the union's major demand, observers say, since it does not provide for binding arbitration on the terms of the contract, a limitation on class size, or a clause against reprisals. Proceedings continue against four teachers who were suspended without pay for strike-related incidents. The contract provides for only a 6 percent immediate raise in wages, with another 3 percent depending on new monies being appropriated from the state.

(Tom Mooney)

## USW local taken over

The international office of the United Steelworkers of America (USW) has taken over administration of a Houston, Texas, local whose 600 members nominated and voted for insurgent Ed Sadlowski's slate in last February's union elections.

The international claims it has suddenly discovered misuse of funds during a four-month strike by the local against Ethyl Corporation in 1975. Local president Fabian Greenwell denied that there had been any misuse of strike funds. He said the international had audited the local's books shortly after the strike and found everything to be in order.

"This is nothing more than political retaliation for supporting Ed Sadlowski for international president," said Greenwell. Greenwell was chairperson of the Sadlowski campaign in District 37, covering Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma. His local was one of three in the entire district to nominate and vote for the Sadlowski slate.

(LNS)

—Compiled by Dan Marshall







## AFRICA

# Nigeria; prosperous but dependent

By Kay Trimberger

Arriving in the capital city of Lagos, the visitor to Nigeria is immediately struck by impressions of both the success and irrationality of Nigerian economic development. Automobiles clog the streets of Lagos. Foreign auto plants—especially Peugeot—produce about 3,000 autos a month. Oil revenues permitted the government to give state employees huge salary increases in the past two years. This, along with government loans for private car purchases, means that most of the elite and middle class now own private autos, even though they are only a small percentage of the population.

***Nigeria is not 100—or even 50 or 25—years behind American capitalism. Its development, which is fundamentally different, has all the characteristics of neocolonial capitalist development.***

But the Nigerian government has not given equal attention to building and repairing roads. Hence, it now takes three hours to go 15 miles in Lagos. Many employees have to leave home at 5 a.m. to get to work by 8. All over Nigeria there are clogged roads and numerous auto accidents, while public transportation is minimal. Most Nigerians still walk or ride a bicycle, if they can afford one.

At the same time there are gas shortages, electrical breakdowns, and inadequate phone service for the middle class. Such irrationality is *not* the result of African culture or remnants of tribalism, but the direct consequence of capitalist development in the Third World.

## ►Dependent capitalist development.

Nigeria with 84 million people is the most populous country in Africa and the eighth largest in the world. After South Africa it is also the richest African country, based primarily on its vast oil reserves. Nigeria is now the fifth largest exporter of crude oil in the world. Its oil revenue surpassed \$8 billion in 1976 and provided 85-90 percent of federal revenue. These riches, its large reserve of people, and its potentially large market give Nigerian capitalism an energy and vitality not so evident in other African countries of the Sahara. Prosperity has also sparked a new Nigerian nationalism that is attempting to overcome the divisiveness of the devastating civil war from 1966-69. Nigerians like to compare their present position to the U.S. after its civil war. An economic boom provides the material base for all sectors to pull together to create a great nation.

But Nigeria's capitalist development is not 100—or even 50 or 25—years behind American capitalism; its development is fundamentally different. Nigeria exhibits all the characteristics of dependent—or unequal or neo-colonial—capitalist development.

Its oil riches do not spur integrated industrialization. Its modern industries are dominated by foreign corporations, which establish manufacturing or assembly plants in Nigeria to avoid import taxes. Such manufacture is geared to the middle class luxury market and not to a consideration of what the mass of Nigerians need or what is necessary for long-term and continuing development.

Nigeria's foreign controlled development also places limits on the growth of an indigenous capitalist class. Most Nigerian businessmen are engaged in the distribution of goods not in their manufacture. Nigerians get rich by monopolizing niches in the distribution of goods, rather than by organizing factories to produce goods. Those Nigerians that are in manufacturing are employees of mul-

tinational corporations. As employees they are trained to think like Americans or Europeans and to advance the interests of the corporations.

The government has passed laws "Nigerianizing" the largest foreign industries. This means that over 50 percent of the ownership and senior staff has to be Nigerian. But an English executive of the United Africa Company—one of the oldest British companies in Nigeria and now part of the Unilever multinational corporation—told me that Nigerianization has made no difference in their profits or mode of operation.

Technically advanced foreign industries also use very little labor. 75 percent of the Nigerian population is still in agriculture, which has a very low growth rate—2 percent a year. As a result economic development has benefitted a small elite and middle class and led to increasing economic inequality. Capitalist industrialization in Nigeria creates greater inequality than the earlier process in the U.S. and may actually be decreasing the living standard for many people as their traditional agricultural practices and village life are disrupted.

An example of such inequality was related to me by Femi Odekunle, a sociologist at Ahmadu Bello University in northern Nigeria. His local TV evening news reported two events recently: one Nigerian imported and air-freighted a Rolls Royce and paid the hundreds of thousands of naira import duties in cash and on the spot. The event made news because nearly half the country was experiencing drought and near-famine in the midst of an oil boom. The same day the TV reported on another citizen—an unemployed man—being tried for stealing a sheep. He pleaded guilty to the charge and requested that the judge hurry up and sentence him quickly before lunch time was over in the prison.

## ►Political corruption, civil war and coups.

The irrationalities and inequality of capitalist development in the Third World create the need for government intervention. The state must attempt regulation of foreign capital, economic planning, training of technical and managerial experts. The state must also attempt to mitigate the effects of economic inequality. It must provide some welfare measures for the masses and some hope of future betterment or, when these fail, use other techniques to keep the discontented divided and to repress popular revolt. The weak spot of Nigerian capitalism is the inadequacy of the Nigerian state in performing these functions. This weakness is evidenced by political corruption, civil war, and repeated military coups and coup attempts.

Photos by Chris Mojekwu



(Above) A Nigerian army commander visits a local chief in Africa and is presented with two cows for dinner for the troops. (Below) The commander shakes hands with a local chief.

Before 1966 civilian government in Nigeria kept popular discontent under control by fomenting competition between the three largest tribal groupings in Nigeria—Ibos in the south-east, Yorubas in the south-west, and Hausa-Fulanis in the north. Elites of these three groups competed through regionally-based political parties for political influence and for economic payoffs from foreign firms. This corruption weakened the government and undermined political legitimacy, but channeled discontent into ethnic rather than class or anti-foreign feeling. The result, however, was the pogroms of 1966-67 where thousands of Ibos were killed, leading to the secession of south-eastern Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra.

Civil war was clearly counterproductive for foreign capitalists. But the military regimes in power since 1967 have also become corrupt.

Factionalism and corruption in the state bureaucracy have worked against using the state apparatus to rationalize capitalist production. Teresa Turner, a Canadian economist studying the political economy of oil in Nigeria, observes: "a foreign businessman is successful in Nigeria not because he offers a competitive price, high quality produce, efficient service, or the commodity that best suits local needs, but because he has made contact with the right middleman and gets access—through bribes—to a government

official who finds the firms's proposal attractive." The most publicized example of the "uneconomic" consequences of such corruption was the government's order of 20 million tons of cement, a volume that at the existing port capacity would have taken 20 years to unload.

It was conflicts and corruption over oil policies in the Gowon regime that led to the military coup in 1975 by Brigadier Murtala-Mohammed. He was killed in an attempted counter-coup in 1976, but his successor Brigadier Obasanjo continues his policy of disciplining and dismissing corrupt state officials, while preparing for a return to civilian rule in 1979. The success of either of these policies is still in doubt. The military's turn to a more nationalist and radical foreign policy—including support for liberation movements in Southern Africa—is an attempt to deflect popular opinion away from the government's lack of a domestic policy to meet popular needs.

## ►No prospective alternative.

Despite the weakness of the Nigerian state and the contradictions of its capitalist development, there is no prospect of any alternative path in the near future. Students and intellectuals talk about socialism. The daily newspapers publish columns and letters by socialists using Marxist language to critique capitalism. There were even two socialist professors on the committee to draft the new constitution. But there is no socialist movement.

This situation is partly explained by the fact that the military government permits freedom of speech but outlaws all political organizations, left, right or center. But even if civil government returns in 1979, and political organizing is legalized, this will not automatically lead to a strong left. Workers and peasants have staged local revolts and strikes, but continuing localism and ethnic divisions prevent mass organization.

University students, who are assured future jobs, and faculty, who are provided with modern housing and high salaries, rail against the irrationalities and corruption of Nigerian capitalism, but they are unlikely to lead a movement for fundamental social change. At the most they will try to encourage a stronger state direction of capitalist development. A movement for real change awaits the creation of more consciousness and organization at the village level.

Kay Trimberger is a professor of sociology at California State College, Sonoma. She visited Nigeria last fall.



## WEST GERMANY

## Baader-Meinhof gang: Germany's SLA

By John Conroy

Wiltsflecken, Germany. When their final day in court finally arrived on April 28, the leaders of West Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang weren't there to witness it. Ulrike Meinhof died at 41 last May; she was found hanged in her prison cell, reportedly a suicide. Holger Neins died in November 1974 after a two-month hunger strike. Gudrun Ensslin, 36, now also on a hunger strike, was reportedly near death last week and a few days before the verdict it was questionable whether she would live to learn of it. Andreas Baader, 34, and Jan Carl Raspe, 32, were on hunger strikes until a few days after the trial ended and didn't show for the final session.

The verdict was guilty. The sentence was life imprisonment.

The Stuttgart trial was based on a 354-page indictment, and included four counts of murder, 32 counts of attempted murder and a criminal conspiracy charge. Over 500 witnesses were called in the two-year trial before five judges. The proceedings cost the state over \$2 million and the lives of three men, not to mention the multi-million dollar prison constructed to house the terrorists because no other jail was secure enough.

## ►Urban guerillas.

The group appeared on the German political scene seven years ago and had two factions—the Second of June Movement (named for the day in 1967 when a student was killed by police during a demonstration) and the Red Army Faction. Andreas Baader, the son of a historian, and his girlfriend Gudrun Ensslin, met Ulrike Meinhof in 1968, after they had been arrested for setting fire to two Frankfurt department stores. Meinhof, a journalist writing for the magazine *Konkret*, saw the fires as political acts, and two years later freed Baader from jail after a gun battle in a library he had been allowed to visit under guard.

In the name of freeing the nation from imperialism, denouncing the fascist state and American involvement in Vietnam and offering their own brand of Marxism, Baader, Meinhof and their associates bombed American army installations, wrecked public offices and buildings, and robbed banks.

As urban guerillas, the group was good. For a time they commanded some liberal sympathy, and polls indicated that many of the young would be willing to help hide them if asked. They stole arms from police stations, American and German army bases, and the main American army ammunition depot.

But as the killings grew, the general public became infuriated. Two Hamburg policemen were shot. Seventeen employees of a Hamburg newspaper were injured by a bomb. In May 1972 four American soldiers were killed. A month later 30 of the group's members were arrested, including Baader and Meinhof. The public and the police breathed a sigh of relief and things grew quiet on the terrorist front.

## ►Even sympathizers sour.

On Nov. 9, 1974, Holger Meins died in prison, weighing less than 90 pounds. The next day, Judge Guenter von Drenkmann, supreme court president of West Berlin, opened his door on his birthday to two men bearing flowers. They shot and killed him.

Baader-Meinhof had reappeared, and three months later on Feb. 27, 1975, the group kidnapped Peter Lorenz, West Berlin Christian Democratic leader, a few days before elections were to be held. For three days the guerillas coolly negotiated, much of it broadcast live to millions of television viewers. In return for the uninjured Lorenz they secured the release of five prisoners, \$50,000 and a flight to the Middle East.



Ulrike Meinhof died in prison last May.

UPI

Two months later they tried it again, demanding the release of 26 Baader-Meinhof members still in jail, \$250,000, and a flight out of the country in exchange for the safety of 12 hostages in the West German embassy in Stockholm. This time Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said no. The six guerillas shot two embassy officials and set fire to the embassy, but were captured when they tried to escape.

For all their efficiency, their expertise at stealing weapons and their victory with their first hostage, the gang failed miserably. In the end, few of those they were trying to liberate understood quite what they wanted. There didn't seem to be the shocking social conditions that have won sympathy for other guerillas. West Germany wasn't Iran under the Shah, India under Gandhi, Chile under Pinochet. Vietnam protests drew them sympathy, but even their sympathizers soured, and it was one such sympathizer who was responsible for Meinhof's arrest.

The group was an embarrassment to the German left and their tactics not only lost them followers but also drove many Germans to law and order politics. Polls now indicate that about half the populace would like to see capital punishment, now unconstitutional, permitted for terrorist offenses.

## ►Civil liberties let slide.

But while the fascist state Baader-Meinhof claimed to exist didn't, the German

government let civil liberties slide in dealing with the terrorists. The home of nuclear scientist Dr. Klaus Traube was bugged because he had friends who associated with radicals. Eavesdropping devices were installed to record conversations between Baader-Meinhof inmates and their lawyers, allegedly in anticipation of jail-break attempts. Conspiracy laws have been tightened, and now anyone who prints or publishes the propaganda of a group like Baader-Meinhof can be sentenced to six months to five years in jail. One conservative leader from Bavaria has called for limiting the right of political demonstration and legalizing the surveillance of meetings between accused terrorists and their attorneys.

In addition to setting the political scene back several years, Baader, Meinhof and associates have had a chilling effect on the social picture. The Ministry of Justice offices are surrounded by barbed wire and can be entered only through a single checkpoint manned by armed guards. The number of police and private security guards has increased and according to one newspaper report thousands are now deployed to guard the lives of businessmen and politicians. Posters in train stations and on bus corners display photographs of 14 terrorists, including the famous "Carlos" (a.k.a. Ramirez Sanchez), and offer a 700,000 mark reward.

And though the Baader-Meinhof leaders have been sentenced or have died, the

nightmare is far from over. On the Thursday before Easter, Siegfried Buback, West Germany's chief prosecutor, who was directing the state's case in the Stuttgart trial, was machine-gunned to death by two people on a motorcycle. The killers, who identified themselves as Commando Ulrike Meinhof, killed Buback's chauffeur and bodyguard. As this is being written West German officials and police are bracing themselves for what they know is coming—another assassination as a retaliation for the verdict.

"People are now associating themselves with Baader-Meinhof who never knew either Baader or Meinhof," one American State department official says. "The organization is amorphous. It has no form."

According to figures released right after the Buback slaying, 103 terrorists are now in jail and 31 remain at large. Charges have been brought against 265 people, while 240 others are under investigation. Some of the attorneys who defended Baader, Ensslin and Raspe may face prosecution for allegedly aiding terrorist acts by passing information and plans from the defendants to their supporters on the outside. And three other Baader-Meinhof trials are now in process.

It will be a long time before the barbed wire comes down from the Justice Ministry's headquarters.

John Conroy is a free-lance journalist from Chicago presently travelling in Europe.



By David Moberg  
Staff Writer

Karl Kordes' experimental car doesn't look like the usual "car of the future," those low-slung, gleaming composites of sexual fantasy and outdated Space Age imagery that have swiveled in decades of auto show spotlights.

It's a squarish, old black Austin sedan. Metal strips on top hold six orange-red tanks. Under the hood there's a box not much bigger than a few car batteries and an electric engine.

The box is a fuel cell. Hydrogen stored in the six tanks and oxygen from the air continually feed into the power-producing cell. The fuel cells operate like large flashlight batteries, but the batteries don't wear out.

Kordes, an engineer for 20 years with Union Carbide, uses hydrogen as fuel and oxygen as oxidizer. Many other liquid or gas fuels could be used in this bit of exotic engineering previously limited to genuine space-age adventure.

That's why—despite the very unerotic appearance of his old sedan—Kordes' car may be the auto hope of the future. When petroleum is gone or too expensive, hydrogen will be available. Using solar power for electrolysis, water can be turned into hydrogen to become almost an unlimited resource. Packing tremendous energy per gram, it is an efficient, non-polluting, safe and potentially cheap fuel capable of being stored or transported in many forms.

#### ►You're driving a '30s auto.

The energy crisis, increased federal regulation and international competition have kicked the lumbering, fat giant of the American automobile industry right in the V-8. With innovation limited for several decades to wrinkles in the sheet metal, fins on the tail and superfluous horsepower under the hood, auto manufacturers are now grudgingly responding to pressures.

Stanley Boyle, Virginia Polytechnic economics professor and auto industry expert, is one of many who think that the monopoly structure of the industry is a major obstacle to invention. "American auto manufacturers will do as little as possible to change to meet the new demands," he says.

"There haven't been any basic technological innovations by American manufacturers since the 1940s. We're essentially driving a 1930s automobile. And it wouldn't change if it were up to them."

"The gasoline engine is the one they want to produce. If we get any changes, it will come from the little companies. But the Big Three have a monopoly. They were dragged kicking and screaming into the small car market. There isn't any pressure on them, any competition to kick them off the top of the mound. As long as you own the whole show, you can show what you want. People can buy that or nothing."

#### ►Affects every facet of life.

Innovation or stagnation in the auto industry touches nearly every facet of American life. The automobile is used for 87 percent of all passenger travel, uses 14 percent of the nation's energy and 28 percent of its oil, and affects the design of cities, types of housing, location of industry and patterns of daily life. Roughly one-sixth of the GNP and a vast network of small businesses—gas stations, auto dealers, drive-ins—are linked to the automobile.

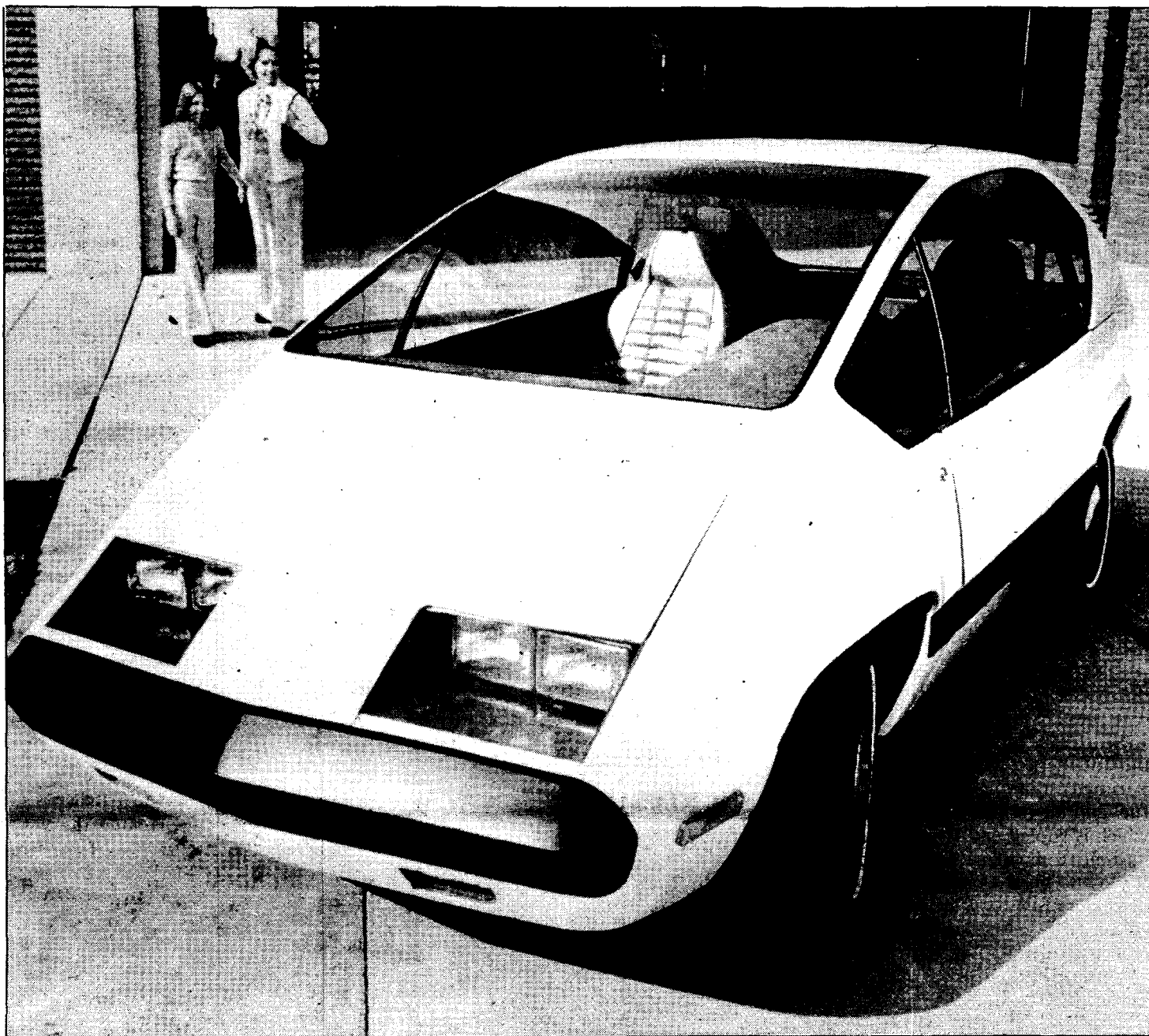
Radical change in automotive technology could disrupt society or touch off a new wave of productive economic activity. The unprecedented way in which all aspects of the nation's economy and culture are tied together makes the need for planning such changes and their by-products more urgent than ever. As things stand, General Motors will make those plans in its own best interest.

## I. What's Good for General Motors...

We're already seeing what the auto companies will be offering for the next

# THE FUTURE OF THE AUTOMOBILE

*The electric car may be the wave of the future. Below, a prototype model.*



decade—progressively shorter, lighter and less flamboyantly styled cars with a less powerful and more finely adjusted engine and drive train. American auto companies will soon be offering as the car of the late '70s a refined version of the car of the late '50s.

With even minor changes, especially weight reduction, auto companies can probably meet new federal mileage standards, which specify that by 1980 the fleet of cars produced by each company must average 20 miles per gallon and by 1985—unless standards are changed—27.5 m.p.g.

By 1985 the psychologically seductive but wasteful V-8 engines now in 70 percent of American cars will be gone, according to General Motors. Also, starting with a diesel in the Oldsmobile Delta 88 next year, GM expects one-fourth of its cars to be diesel by 1985. Diesels are more efficient and better on some but not all pollution standards than the standard Otto engine, although they are heavier, more expensive and less capable of jackrabbit acceleration.

Within a few years many cars will also have computers controlling ignition timing, fuel injection and an improved three-way catalyst for emission control. Radial tires, front wheel drive and an automatic transmission that locks into high gear will also improve efficiency.

#### ►Less cost but higher price.

Despite drastic reduction in the amount of materials required for future cars, the price will continue to shoot up rapidly. Bradford Snell, author of a controversial Senate Antitrust subcommittee study of General Motors, describes the automakers' strategy as one of "selling less for more." One federal study showed

that cutting 600 pounds out of a 1975-size compact (expected by 1980) should reduce the manufacturer's cost from \$1,243 to \$932.

Auto executives have argued in the past that "small cars mean small profits." But "downsizing" will not immediately pose profit problems. GM spokesman Jack Harned explains that "no significant shift in model mix is expected. We'll still have a certain mix of compacts and large cars. We seek to maintain the same profit ratios. If you look at this scenario, we intend to continue offering the same kind of cars." There will still be a stratified market, topped by smaller luxury cars. It may be a little confusing for a while, since some GM "intermediates" will be smaller than "compacts" next year.

Nobody expects GM to slump below its historic 20 percent return on investment. "Cars will be smaller, more economical and obviously cost more," Bob Lienert, editor of *Automotive News*, says. "General Motors is not in the business to build cars. They're in the business to make dollars. If we get a fleet of small cars, they're going to price it to make money."

#### ►Foreign makers way ahead.

Foreign manufacturers, already making the cars that U.S. companies are aiming for in five to eight years, could cause headaches for Detroit. Consultant Robert Brooks forecasts that "as the total market goes toward an average smaller car, the Japanese and Europeans are already farther ahead, and they're also ready to come in with the new things. The domestic companies will have to spend a tremendous amount of money just to down-size, and the foreign com-

panies will be able to introduce new technologies.... They've done their emissions work. They've got fuel economy. They're going to spend their time on more advanced technology. My God, they're going to be ahead of us."

Although GM dropped its Wankel or rotary engine research this spring, claiming they could not improve fuel economy and emissions standards sufficiently, Mazda (Toyo Kogyo) has greatly improved rotary engine economy and next year will meet Japanese emissions standards that are equal to the toughest proposed U.S. standards for 1985. The rotary engine also does not need the catalytic converter, which has caused serious new sulfuric acid pollution problems. Mazda will offer three new rotary models in the next three years and Audi, Toyota and Citroen are investing heavily in rotary engine development.

## II. Building the Better Energy Trap

Once upon a time, when the automobile industry was very, very young, there were gasoline-fueled internal combustion engines, steam engines and electric engines. The gasoline engine triumphed largely because it was better suited to a rural and small-town America with bad roads and limited electrification.

There were also efficient, fast mass transit systems in most large cities. Often they were electrified light rail or trolley systems. As Bradford Snell has demonstrated, General Motors and allies in the oil and tire industry formed a conspiracy to buy out and effectively destroy those systems, including one of the most advanced of the day in Los Angeles.



Ironically, the view of the future beyond 1985 begins to look a little like the past. Modern versions of the electrified light rail system are now the hottest prospects for mass transit. And the two most reasonable alternatives to the gasoline internal combustion engine are electric cars and an "external combustion" engine, the Stirling, which is like the steam car in many respects.

Researcher Snell believes that "we're not going to get out of this mess until we have a massive technological shift to mass transit. The major reason Europe doesn't consume as much energy as we do is that they have mass transit and use it." But even with mass transit the automobile will be with us for some time.

► **Companies not technologically aggressive.** Energy, economics and environmental pressures demand technological innovation to produce a new kind of car. Yet, as Larry Lyndon, a professor at M.I.T. and federal consultant on auto research, says, "The auto industry has not been technologically aggressive. They behave in what they see as their own best interest and are careful in making any major changes. A mistake is real costly."

Failure to act may be costly as well. GM has not increased its research and development budget recently, although more attention has gone to "downsizing" than to usual model changes. Boyle estimates total R&D, including styling, consumes only one-half of one percent of gross sales. European and Japanese firms, nearly all analysts agree, spend considerably more on basic research.

If the industry were willing, the Stirling or electric engine alternatives might be brought into large-scale production by 1985. The Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the California Institute of Technology concluded that the Stirling engine could cut consumption by one-third and meet the toughest pollution standards. The Stirling continuously burns a mixture of fuel and air to heat a high pressure gas, which is cooled and translates its energy into mechanical energy to drive the car. It can also burn less refined, "broad-cut" petroleum fuels or mixtures including alcohols, which could in turn be produced from waste or plants.

The JPL study estimates that the \$8 billion needed to introduce the Stirling engine would save over two million barrels of oil per day by the end of the century. That's roughly 40 percent of current oil consumption by cars. Continuing to fuel conventional engines would cost at least \$20 billion. If mass transit or a different use of city space changed driving patterns and if fuels other than petroleum were used, the savings would be even greater.

Another heat engine with great promise, JPL said, is the turbine engine, which also burns a wide range of fuels.

► **The electric car.** The electric car is another possibility. There are now about 2,000 battery-powered CitiCars on American streets and 50,000 electric vans operating in England. The squat, little CitiCar goes 40 mph, has sluggish acceleration and travels only 50 miles or so before needing an eight-hour recharge. It will hardly knock out the "muscle car" market, but for a vast range of city uses electric cars or trucks are practical right now. The U.S. Postal Service has successfully experimented with electric trucks. Electric vehicles are cheaper to operate and don't pollute, the virtue that touched off the electric car revival in the mid-'60s.

Dozens of electric car and battery research projects are underway, although Japan has a dramatic lead. The 1976 Electric Vehicle Act, which committed \$160 million to research over six years, will boost investment.

► **A new battery.** The director of the Argonne National Laboratory battery project, Paul Nelson, expects that a new type car with a Lithium/iron sulfide battery will be built by 1980. Using the battery, which is as powerful as lead-acid batteries, the car will travel 150 miles between charges, reach 70 mph and ac-

celerate like conventional cars. A new electric motor that reduces electricity needed by 10 to 18 percent, which was announced earlier this month by Cravens Wanlass, a California engineer, should also give a boost to the electric car.

Of course electricity for car storage batteries will have to come from central generating stations, shifting the pollution problem from tailpipes to smokestacks. Charging vehicles at night will permit more efficient use of generators, which run at half their capacity overnight. Power stations remain inefficient, however,

**Auto researcher Bradford Snell poses the crucial question: Why should the auto companies be innovative? "They have something on the order of a \$7 billion investment in current engine design. It will take some incredible technological breakthrough to convince them to change. Why should they junk \$7 billion? Everything is based on investment. They don't care about society. They say, 'We don't make any decisions on public welfare.'"**

and deliver in a useful form only about one-third of the energy consumed. Even with additional loss in the car, however, the electric auto will probably be at least as energy-efficient, perhaps a third more efficient, than the internal combustion engine. Current car motors effectively use only 12 percent of the energy in the gasoline that is burned.

#### ► **The fuel cell car.**

Then there is Kordesch's fuel cell. It functions at 60 to 70 percent efficiency, far more than any heat engine can possibly reach. It can be refueled quickly with no limits on distance. The main hitch is that there is no system of mass production or distribution of the fuel, which could be hydrogen, ammonia, methanol, hydra-

zine (a rocket fuel) or others. Without coordinated conversion of engines and fuel supplies at the same time, the hydrogen car of the future would be stymied by the chicken and egg problem. Which will come first, car or fuel?

### III. Beating the Dinosaur Over the Head

"The auto companies are like dinosaurs," says Tom Jones, technical associate at the Center for Auto Safety. "You hit them on the head enough and they'll do something." Is anyone hitting hard enough? Will the dinosaur budge?

"If the companies act strictly in their own best interest, we won't get advanced power plants as soon as we should," M.I.T. engineer Lyndon concludes.

Snell poses the question, "Why should they be innovative? They have something on the order of \$7 billion investment in current engine design. It will take some incredible technological breakthrough to convince them to change. Why should they junk \$7 billion? Everything is based on return on investment. They don't care about society. They say, 'We don't make any decisions on public welfare.'"

Auto companies may be as reluctant to compete on radically new engine technologies as they were, and are, on safety. "Can you imagine a divisional vice-presidents' meeting where they recommend abolition of one-half of their divisions because of an engine with only three moving parts?" Boyle asked. Some of the new technologies could also upset the very lucrative "aftermarket" in spare parts.

#### ► **Raising the price.**

In order to speed innovation academic economists and auto industry defenders propose complete decontrol of oil prices, with an obvious jump in the cost of gasoline. This will create a market of people desperate for efficient cars.

Most admit such a pricing policy would put the burden of changing the auto's technology on the backs of everyone who owns a car. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the chunk of the family budget devoted to transportation has already jumped from 15 percent in 1960-61 to 21 percent in 1972-73. The huge increases in auto and gas prices since then have undoubtedly further eroded the average family's standard of living.

Other economists, such as Boyle and Snell, argue that the only way to stimulate innovation is through antitrust action. Any program that trusts the auto companies is, at best, naive, they say.

"They had the opportunity to innovate," Boyle says. "What is their record of performance? It's miserable. You ought to break the hell up out of those companies. They are too big to be efficient. They are too big to react. They are not responsible to the needs or desires of their buyers." Boyle would not only break up production but also end the policy of exclusive franchises among dealers.

#### ► **Advantages of monopoly power.**

Auto companies are the size they are not because of technical necessities but be-

cause of the advantages of monopoly power. Numerous studies of the industry show that the peak of efficiency in auto assembly can be reached with annual runs of as few as 50,000 cars, certainly no more than 400,000 cars. In a good year, GM makes around five million.

"If you have lots of competitors, each going after a small share of the market, they will try to sell something unique," Snell says. "With a large share, they seek a common denominator, which in America is junk. All innovations come from small firms. To the extent that we value innovation, we want a universe of small producers."

Boyle and Snell point out that the more competitive Japanese and European industries have been far ahead of the American industry in developing and marketing important new engineering ideas.

One economist has argued that small firms could enter the electric car market with production runs of only 3,000. But the Big Three aren't likely to move until they see a market of over 100,000.

Other analysts think that government research and even purchase of new vehicles could trigger new development. The budget for research on new engines through the Energy Research and Development Agency is scheduled to rise from \$16.4 million for heat engine research and \$25 million for electric engine research this fiscal year to a requested \$30 million and \$46.9 million respectively for fiscal year 1978.

At the same time, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory study recommended in 1975 spending \$150 million a year for the Stirling and gas turbine engines alone. The small amounts of money spent previously are, their study reported, "indicative of why the emergence of alternative engines has been slow."

#### ► **GM could pay.**

But why should the government finance the research when General Motors had a first quarter 1977 profit of just under \$1 billion? The JPL report concluded that "the industry could pay for this [\$150 million a year] development program and, from an analysis of the potential for increased profits, this level of expenditure seems warranted. However, it is not at all obvious they will do so—given sales slumps, reduced budgets, and their historical interest in short-term-payoff R&D."

More direct public ownership or control of the auto companies might permit the public to influence directly investment decisions in favor of innovation, energy efficiency, durability, safety and environmental protection. Breaking up the companies, even with some form of social ownership, might also encourage diversity and inventiveness as well as lessen the political clout of any one company.

Foreign experiences with nationalization or partial government ownership of Renault or Volkswagen leave many observers skeptical, but Volkswagen was able to devote massive amounts of capital to produce within a few years cars that Detroit will not match for some time.

In order to avoid hardship for automobile workers as well as everyone else affected by technological change in the industry, social planning will be necessary.

One economist objected that public or government control of auto companies wouldn't work because it would introduce "diffuse objectives." Yet in the transformation of the industry, there are diffuse objectives, which are not likely to be met when profit for the Big Three is the only consideration. Even with his mass transit and auto antitrust proposal, Snell argued, "there would have to be a central planning group in the government to take care of these shifts."

Twentieth century corporate America was built around the internal combustion automobile. What kind of society might be built with democratic control of a solar-hydrogen energy supply, mass transit and Karl Kordesch's fuel cell automobile gently rolling down America's long open road?

The automobile sits at the center of almost all aspects of modern society.



From "Tilt," a mural by the Chicago Mural Group.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## Seabrook: Toward democratic control

The mass sit-in at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear plant construction site two weeks ago marks a new phase in the democratic struggle against corporate power.

It combines groups accustomed to working in formal legal channels for particular interests or redress of grievances with those rooted in "direct action" movements of the late '50s and '60s.

In bringing into close practical cooperation people adept at struggling "within the system" and those experienced at mobilizing "outside the system," the Seabrook movement is demonstrating the strength of combining movements acting on both fronts. In the process people accustomed to one kind of struggle have come to participate in activities of the other, while drawing in newcomers, young and old.

Since 1969, the Seabrook plant opponents have been able to delay construction by utilizing the procedures of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (successor to the Atomic Energy Commission), and the local zoning board. A town meeting has also voted against the plant. Now, they are adding, for the first time in anti-nuclear struggles, the tactic of civil disobedience—first last August in a small demonstration at the site in which 200 were arrested, and now in a larger action in which almost 1,500 were arrested.

### ► New in other ways.

The Clamshell Alliance movement at Seabrook marks a new phase of struggle in two other ways:

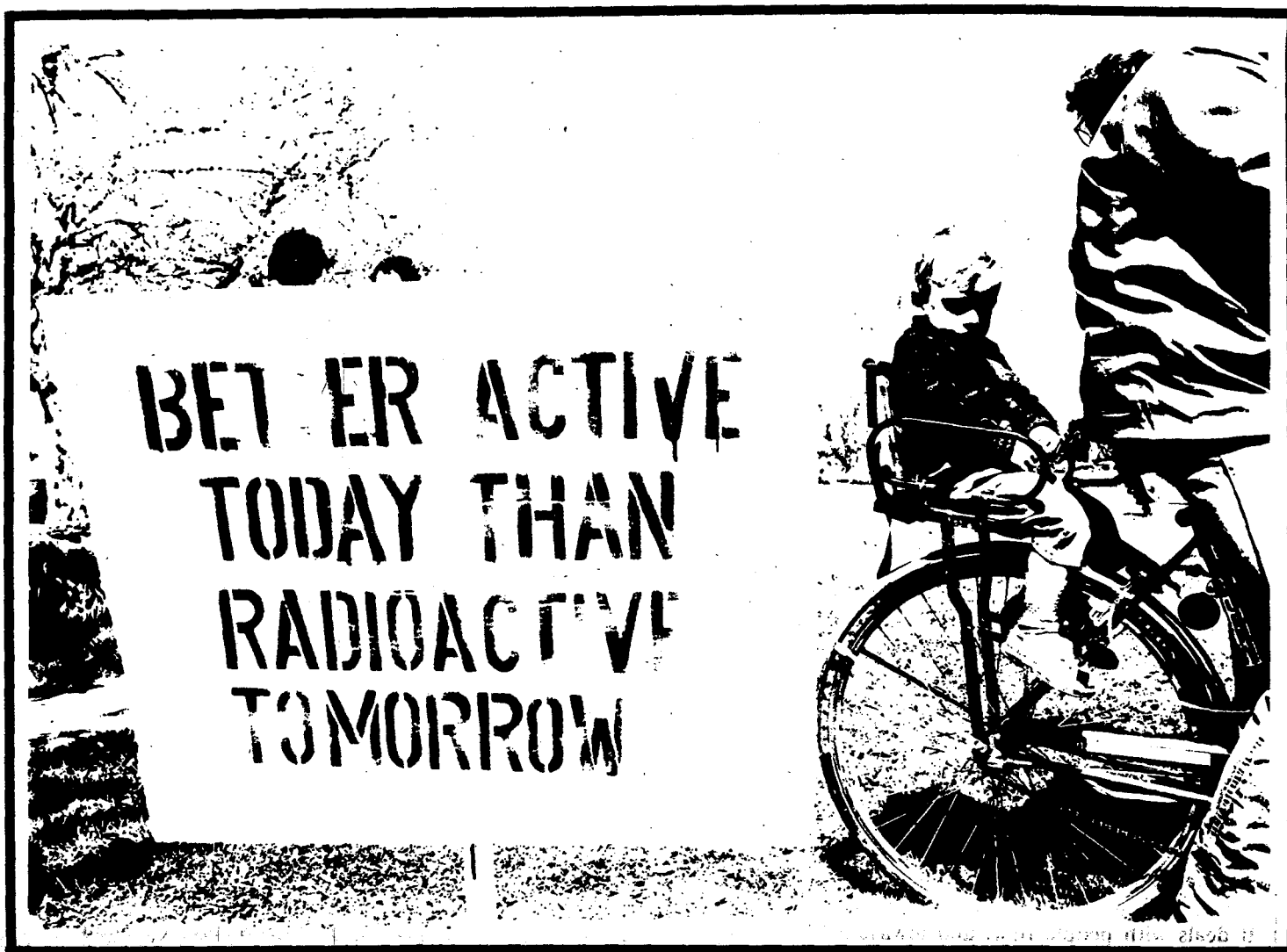
- It has cut across older liberal-conservative-radical, Democratic-Republican, voter-nonvoter lines, with the fundamental principle that the people have the right to control their local economy in a democratic way. In the process they have come to oppose the oligarchic power of corporate investors allied with government agencies and politicians devoted to the corporate investment system.

- It includes people in its ranks who understand the need to go beyond protest to positive alternatives for safe energy, a clean environment, secure livelihood and popular self-determination.

Many of the Clamshell people understand that only a publicly owned and democratically controlled energy system can achieve and secure these goals. And they understand that, given the national character of the corporations and banks in the energy field, and the large authority of the federal government in determining energy policy, local self-determination requires a struggle for a national public energy system that will guarantee local democracy in energy matters.

Movements like the Clamshell Alliance can now draw upon research and planning resources that were not available in the '60s. There are scientists' groups like the Union of Concerned Scientists and Barry Commoner's institute at Washington University (St. Louis) dedicated to placing scientific knowledge at the service of democratizing our society. There are also anti-corporate policy research centers like the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Environmental Action Foundation, Environmentalists for Full Employment and the California Public Policy Center.

These centers have arrayed information showing that the corporate-owned profit-motivated energy and power enterprises allocate resources inefficiently, impose bloated and unfair prices and rates, oppose conservation measures as harmful to their profit growth and are pushing nuclear power not because it is the best solution to the nation's energy problem,



Lionel Delevigne

The 1960s movement has not entirely disappeared... It is regrouping, rethinking and returning with a more mature awareness and a broader base than the college-based anti-war movement.

but because as a capital-intensive operation it reinforces a higher rate structure and the continued centralized corporate control of the nation's energy capacity.

The information also shows, conversely, that certain non-profit publicly owned and popularly controlled utilities now existing in several areas of the country, charge rates on the average 30-40 percent lower than corporate-owned utilities, that many of them are cooperating effectively in developing solar and geothermal energy, that they are more sensitive to the job security and safety of their workers and to consumer needs and community planning programs. Even at lower rates some of these public enterprises generate surplus revenues that can be returned to consumers as rebates, life-line rates, cheap insurance or in developing energy-conserving methods.

In short, the information developed by these centers show that non-profit publicly owned utilities are more efficient, cheaper and socially beneficial than corporate-owned profit-oriented enterprise. Public-owned utilities are also accessible to democratic control, local needs, and public welfare planning in a way that corporate enterprises are not.

### ► Public enterprise pays.

Public energy proposed and in fact implemented, show that economic democracy pays. And that, contrary to Chamber of Commerce propaganda, enterprise for private profit costs. It costs in the deterioration of the environment and living conditions, in corruption of public agencies and in the short-circuiting of democratic processes by bureaucratic monstrosities serving corporate power.

In contrast to such systems as the TVA, which is controlled by the federal executive, a democratic energy program would provide for elected local, regional and national boards representing the interests of consumers, labor and the public well-

being to the exclusion of profit-oriented investors or their "experts."

Fortified by the information gathering of the research centers and aware of the benefits of a public energy system, people in the Clamshell Alliance have articulated a sophisticated perspective linking local to national struggles over energy and over the broader democratization of society.

Guy Chichester, for example, sees Seabrook as a "critical place for self-determination. Nuclear power is clearly being forced on us by the lords of the established power.... If we're successful here, ...it will give great heart to people everywhere who want to give shape to their own lives."

Harvey Wasserman, another Clamshell member, referring to the recently unveiled Schlesinger-Carter energy plan, which is predicated on perpetuating corporate control over energy, says, "We aren't looking for Presidents to turn policy around. We're going to turn it around from the grass roots." At the same time, he noted, "most people here understand the link between ecology and larger political issues." That awareness is attested to by Jean Alonso who sees this as "another invasion by corporate power." And Robin Reid, who says they are "building a long-term movement. ...we shall return."

### ► New left legacy.

The 1960s movement for a democratic society did not entirely disappear. It had a leavening effect on all sectors of society. It has regrouped, is rethinking and reassessing, and is returning with a more mature awareness. And it is more broadly based than the university and other left groups of the past. It is poised to work both "within" and "outside" the system without making a fetish of one or the other.

The movements in the environmental protection and energy spheres have

come increasingly to consider, if not entirely to embrace, the principle of democratic control applied to economic affairs. It is a principle that can be adapted to decentralized democratic authority responsive to the American people and drawing upon their federal tradition to reap the benefits of regional and national resources and coordination. That principle can apply equally to the spheres of banking, insurance, medical care, transportation, housing and basic industry.

Drawn in the American vernacular, that principle corresponds in essence to the vision of socialism.

Socialists may recognize in the new phase of struggle portended at Seabrook, the germ of an emergent American socialism. They should lend themselves to its cultivation in the American grain, helping to nourish its growth in organic relation to the best of the American people's democratic traditions.

For public energy planning and related information see:

Taking Charge: A New Look at Public Power.

The Power Line (periodical publication). Both available from Environmental Action Foundation, 1346 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C., 20036

New Energy, James Ridgeway and Bettina Connor, Beacon Press, Boston.

The Elements (periodical), IPS Transnational, 1901 Q St., Washington, D.C., 20009.

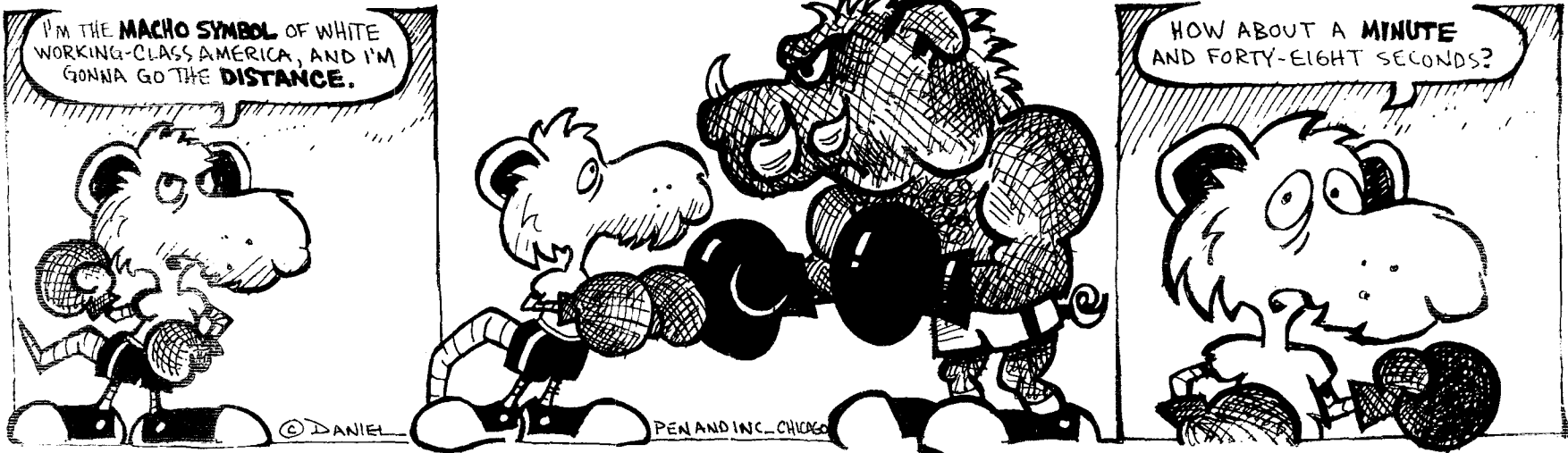
Working Papers on Economic Democracy, California Public Policy Center, 304 S. Broadway, Rm. 224, Los Angeles, CA, 90013.

Jeff Faux and Lee Webb, "Model State Energy Act," Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, 2000 R St., NW, Room 515, Washington, D.C. 20036.



# THE FACTORY

FEATURING "RATSY"



## Letters

### People first

Editor:

The review of a book of short stories (*ITT*, May 3) is a model of infantile leftism that asks fiction writers to write about what ought to be, about conditions, about struggle—not about what the writer, as artist, sees and feels and tells.

Fiction is not Studs Terkel, nor is Studs Terkel fiction. The critic may prefer one to the other, but he cannot judge them by the same criteria. The function of fiction is not "to influence, educate and question"—but to move, to involve, to enlarge, sometimes just to tell a story. It deals with people first, and always through the writer's view.

Please let someone who knows what literature is all about review books.

—Ruth Goldberg  
New York

### The facts of life

Editor:

Your paper is really fantastic. It's about time we got a paper not filled with rhetoric the general public can't understand. Yours is one that all can read and enjoy for what it is and learn about what really is happening. I especially like the way you include all facets of life in your coverage. I'm a sports freak and it's nice to read your articles on athletics. Jack Scott's article was a real upper. We're making headway.

Thanks for the effort you all put into *ITT*.

—Chris Jockheck  
Madison, Wisc.

### A different approach to rapists

Editor:

We protest Judy MacLean's article on rape (*ITT*, March 9). This is what we would expect in *Time* magazine, not in a reputable socialist paper: no critical analysis, simply a superficial survey of anti-rape trends.

Our group in particular was misrepresented. Our main reasons for not working with the criminal justice system were not mentioned—even though we familiarized MacLean with them. The solution is not just to get rapists off the street—prisons cannot rehabilitate them. Prison culture intensifies all the pressures of the outside world that lead to rape in the first place. Rapists in prison don't stop raping—they simply enforce their power over weaker men. When a man is released, he has learned nothing positive about being a member of his community; instead, he may turn his increased violence back on women.

As a socialist/feminist group working to eliminate rape, we feel the need to

overturn the classist, sexist, racist basis upon which our capitalist society operates. We have concrete suggestions for community involvement that were totally ignored in the article. Confrontations with rapists were mentioned, but were placed in a dubious light, because their purpose was not explained: letting a rapist know he cannot be anonymous, that his behavior won't be accepted by members of his community, and he must make an effort to change—which we will assist.

We are trying to prevent rape from being isolated. We see it as part of this society's oppression of women. Similarly, we oppose a "let someone else take care of it" attitude. Change will come when whole neighborhoods, peer groups and communities are involved in dealing with the members of their groups. In working to implement our goals, we are finding broader and broader support for our ideas.

We want feedback at the address below:

—Santa Cruz Women Against Rape  
P.O. Box 711, Santa Cruz, CA 95061

### Refs are a privileged group

Editor:

Had your recent article, "Refs on strike deserve our support" (*ITT*, April 27), appeared in our local newspaper it would have fit right in with their "liberal" attitude towards sports. Coming in a "socialist" newspaper, I feel a need to point out the dangerous and misleading (for socialists) conclusions within the article.

Conclusion: Referees makes 25-33 percent of what players make (average player \$107,000/ref \$18,000-25,000); therefore, we as socialists should support them in their "just" struggle.

Comment: Whatever the referees' position relative to the players', it is important for us to remember that they're still an elite group making a great deal more money than most people. They are a privileged group of individuals who have well-paid positions as functionaries in the world of professional sports.

Conclusion: Professional sports are becoming more profitable, therefore we should help refs share in the increasing profits.

Comment: It's true professional sports are becoming more profitable. That's also true of most big businesses. The majority of large corporations are showing substantially higher rates of profit this year. Working people have to tighten their belts while rich people have to loosen theirs. Does this mean that socialists should support the junior executives of a large corporation because profits are up and they're still only making \$18,000-35,000?

—Kurt Broawer  
Eugene, Ore.

### Get into the game

Editor:

The editorial on social democracy was a superb critique of both reformism and sectarianism. I would like to add a couple of thoughts.

As a former member of one of the American sects, I know there is a question on the minds of some readers that the editorial did not discuss directly. This is the question of violent revolution vs. peaceful transition to socialism. I, for one, do not believe that Rockefeller, *et al.*, will allow themselves to confront this challenge. We will have to devise theoretical, political, organizational and military ways and means to replace the capitalist state apparatus with a socialist government, one that will allow democratic control over all political and economic institutions.

But I do not think that lack of revolutionary will is the main, or even a significant, obstacle within the American socialist movement right now. Isolation from the 85 percent of the population who comprise the working class is the obstacle.

Therefore, I urge "my fellow sectarians": If you want to influence and guarantee the revolutionary transformation of this society, get into the game. Don't coach from the sidelines, jeering, while the team moves ahead without you. Show in *THESE TIMES* to your friends and ask what they think of it.

I have shown the paper, hesitantly at first, to friends and co-workers. And they like it. Apparently, it is not socialism that the U.S. working class is suspicious of or unwilling to fight for. It is all the sectarian accoutrements we have attached to it.

—Norty Wheeler  
Oak Park, Ill.

### A Zionist is a Zionist

Editor:

Whether right or left, a Zionist is a Zionist. This was demonstrated by the *Chutzpah* writers, Perlman and Skeist, (*ITT*, May 3), for while these writers endorse Palestinian self determination they are unable, in the end, to disguise their sinister Zionist principles.

*Chutzpah* suggest that a Palestinian state be established on the West Bank and Gaza. If this is Palestinian self determination, it is neither feasible nor just. According to Report no. 24 of *Minority Rights Group* (London), "a mini-state that consisted of the territories occupied in 1967 could not possibly accommodate all three million Palestinians... The Gaza strip is already one of the most overcrowded regions in the world with about 400,000 people living in an area of some 140 square miles... On the West Bank approximately 750,000 Palestinians live a little more sparsely on 2,165 square miles, but this is flinty land and it is unlikely that agriculture alone could support any more people."

The PLO, on the other hand, has continually advocated a secular-democratic state of Israel because Israeli law is both *de jure* and *de facto* discriminatory. The PLO does not deny "Jewish Peoplehood," as *Chutzpah* would have it, unless being Zionist is part and parcel of being Jewish—which the PLO has always insisted it is not. Instead, the PLO has simply denied that the Jewish people have a *privileged* right to Palestine, a license to exploit or drive away native Palestinians, and a sanction to create an

exclusively Jewish state. Surely theirs is the only moral position; any state whose constitution and policies favor a specific racial or religious group while discriminating against people in the same locale not of that racial or religious group is hardly in accord with principles of justice. If the PLO weakens its stance on this issue, it is only because it must do so to ward off extinction, not because it has recognized any sort of fairness or humanity in the Zionist position.

—Tomis Kapitan  
Bloomington, Ind.

### And Israel is Palestine

Editor:

Articles written by so-called "progressive" socialist groups like *Chutzpah* (*ITT*, May 3) are more annoying and dangerous than those written by "conservative" Zionists. Both advocate the same policies.

*Chutzpah* writes: "The Palestinian people affirm that they are a people with the right to self determination and a state. We agree." It turns out that what *Chutzpah* agrees with is the creation of an independent Palestine on "the West Bank and Gaza."

But where does "self determination" come in if *Chutzpah* has already decided that Palestinians can have only a crumb of a state on the West Bank and Gaza? (Please check your maps for the ridiculous size of such a state.) This "final solution" leaves one million Palestinians homeless, and does not even start to deal with the Palestinians rendered homeless by the creation of Israel in 1948. Such a puppet state will have to be dependent on the largesse of foreign powers and will not be allowed to pursue any independent political policies of its own. In short, such a "state" is an insult to the idea of Palestinian "self determination."

*Chutzpah* finds PLO's position on a non-secular, democratic state in Palestine unacceptable. Here we have to remember that Israelis and Palestinians want exactly the same piece of land. Any proposal should talk about the land in question, not about the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO talks about Palestine proper; *Chutzpah* and the Israelis do not. Until they start doing so, and until they stop expecting Palestinians to pay for Nazi crimes, there can be no permanent peace.

—Rima Aref  
Bloomington, Ind.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

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# ITT far from the mark on social democracy, elections



By Nick Rabkin

I am not among those who would call you social democrats, but I found your editorial, "Social democracy or socialism?" (*ITT*, May 11), far from the mark. There were two fundamental problems with the piece: (1) Your conception of social democracy (like many other leftists') is not a precise historical category, but a moral catchphrase that you throw at those with whom you disagree. (2) Your perspective on the proper electoral policy for socialists is far removed from the terrain of real politics, and offers those concerned with using the electoral arena to build a socialist movement nothing of substance.

Let's begin with the more substantive issue: electoral policy. You argue that a popular socialist movement can be built "here and now," in large measure through "socialist presence in the electoral arena." But you don't explain what "socialist presence" means.

Two meanings are suggested in the text: (1) that socialists who "seek not to reform capitalism" should run for elective office on a program of socialism in "our time," or (2) that socialists should run on the basis of a reform program favorable to the "extension and fuller development of democratic social relations," while consistently working to build a popular socialist movement, presumably by criticizing the reform program's limitations.

The first meaning is patently silly. I hope we can safely assume that you favor the second.

But it too is a self-isolating position under most circumstances in this period. There are, as you point out, growing oppositional currents in the country, moving against "corporate power" and toward greater social planning and democracy. But these movements are not socialist. They are reformist. In some cases (God forbid!) social democratic. They often understood themselves as interest group constituencies—just as much of the labor movement does—and are highly competitive and antagonistic toward each other.

Socialists can and should play a role in uniting these movements, and the electoral arena is a most viable one for this process. We can do this by helping to develop a reform program based on socialist principles that mediates their interests and gives greater consistency to their anti-corporate and democratic thrusts.

But to suggest that socialists should (or could) lead coalitions of these movements, even run for office as socialists with their support, is terribly misleading. I shudder to think of the reception a socialist candidate would get here in Chicago from the community, labor, black, women's and issue-oriented movements most disaffected by the Machine. And Chicago is a city in which these constituencies are relatively well organized and effective. Insisting on socialist leadership in broad progressive coalitions would destroy the potential for unity and the social movement it promises.

This is not to recommend that we keep socialism in the closet. We should take every opportunity to explain the limits of a reform program and the merits of socialism within burgeoning progressive movements and coalitions. And we should see socialist leadership and candidacies as a goal for our work. But our main thrust must be toward

greater unity and political coherence among progressive forces. This is the approach of those socialists who have had success in the electoral arena like Ron Dellums in California. It is the approach taken by NAM and other open socialists working within the electorally oriented Campaign for Economic Democracy in California.

By your standards, I suppose, my position is "social democratic." But those standards are so inconsistent that the term loses all meaning. Bernstein and the German SPD pursued a "socialist presence in the electoral arena" with vigor. They were called social democrats because they viewed the transition to socialism as a gradual and peaceful process, the result of reforms won through existing elements of democracy under capitalism.

You lump the American CP in that same bag—though its vision of socialist transformation was the Bolshevik revolution—because it allegedly failed consistently to articulate a socialist vision in the electoral arena, but fought for reforms there.

These are vastly different political positions. They may both be wrong. But they are not both social democratic.

None of us, of course, can predict the course of socialist transformation in our society. For this reason the term has become confusing and less than useful in the contemporary context—whether Irwin Silber tongue-lashes you with it, or you do the same to Earl Browder.

The strengths of your editorial policy are an understanding of the need for a popular socialist movement, and your identification of socialism and democracy. But you offer bad counsel to socialists concerned with building that movement. They would seriously isolate themselves if they followed your advice in the electoral arena.

Nick Rabkin is the Organizational Secretary of the New American Movement. He has been involved in electoral campaigns as a socialist in California and Chicago.

## Editor's reply:

Nick Rabkin asserts that we cannot engage in openly electoral activity because the "growing oppositional currents" in the U.S. are not socialist. He argues not simply that socialists should work as part of these movements (which we also advocate), but also that socialists should limit their participation to being supporters of other peoples' movements.

For those whose goal it is to create a popular movement for socialism in this country, Rabkin's argument fails both in logic and in life.

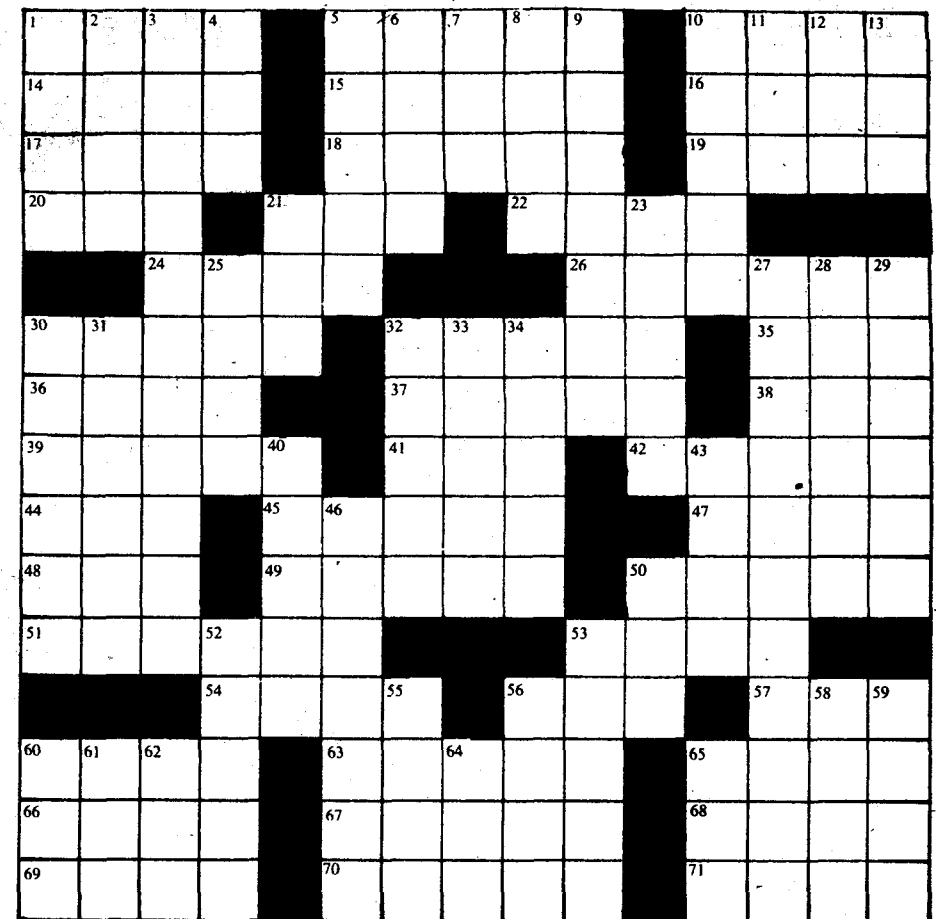
First, the logic. If we begin with the intention to start the process of making socialism an issue in American politics, then our premise is that the existing movements are not socialist, and that we must find ways to create a socialist presence in everyday life. To argue that we cannot put ourselves forward as socialists in our own right because the existing mass movements are not already socialist, is to assume that we will not be able to do so until these movements are socialist. But such a position is a dead end. It provides no way for socialism to become a part of popular political activity. This perspective can only guarantee that there will never be a socialist movement, unless such a movement spontaneously emerges from the existing anti-corporate activities. But in that case, there is no need for socialists to bother with political activity. We could instead all retire to California and let nature take its course.

Second, life.

Precisely because socialism has been excluded from popular politics in this

# Nothing to Lose but Chains

Composed by David Merelstein



## Across:

- 1 Not Groucho
- 5 Future distributional criteria?
- 10 Bog Soldier
- 14 River in Spain
- 15 A debt
- 16 Den
- 17 Opposite of quelque chose
- 18 More rational
- 19 Reserve of this helps increase 9D & 31D
- 20 Accelerate
- 21 Jack, in 48A
- 22 Agile
- 24 October stone
- 26 Contracts
- 30 U.S. motto: Abbr.
- 32 Infectious agent
- 35 Individual
- 36 Entre
- 37 Appeared or "\_\_\_\_\_ by any other name..."
- 38 White yam
- 39 Criticized program, by 71A
- 41 Place to sit
- 42 Das Kapital, e.g.
- 44 Ear of grain
- 45 Path
- 47 Nautical call
- 48 Card game
- 49 Capitalist trait
- 50 Set
- 51 U.S. essayist
- 53 Safe, in Rennes
- 54 Type of opera
- 56 Rested
- 57 Eastern title
- 60 Arm bone
- 63 More pleasing
- 65 U.S. \_\_\_\_\_, in S.F.
- 66 Diviner
- 67 Classic epic
- 68 \_\_\_\_\_deucy
- 69 Part of Marcuse title
- 70 Working or ruling
- 71 1818-1883

## Down:

- 1 First American edition of *Capital*
- 2 Husband, to Isaac's mother?
- 3 Product of 71A: Abbr.
- 4 \_\_\_\_\_ Nol, Cambodian tyrant
- 5 Armor for nose
- 6 Hindu land grant

- 7 German article
- 8 Female deer
- 9 Key Marxian concept, with 32D
- 10 Abuts Marbella
- 11 Part of a cereal plant
- 12 After ready
- 13 Essay
- 21 Between birdie and bogie
- 23 Put alarm on again
- 25 Impel
- 27 Racist regime
- 28 As a whole
- 29 "\_\_\_\_\_ to eye"
- 30 1820-1895
- 31 Downgrade: Var.
- 32 See 9D
- 33 Bristling
- 34 Lured, with in
- 40 Philippine geog. unit
- 43 Egyptian heaven
- 46 \_\_\_\_\_ composition of capital
- 50 Impeached spouse
- 52 Ivan *et al*
- 53 Reddish-brown gems
- 55 Birth control method
- 56 North & Baltic
- 58 Biblical city
- 59 River in Hades
- 60 One kind of value
- 62 Recent: Prefix
- 64 Overthrough Mossadegh
- 65 Mayan Indian

## Solution to last week's puzzle



country for almost 60 years, we do not advocate running socialist candidates for President, which at this point we see as tokenism. Instead we advocate socialist candidacies on the local level and for legislative offices (from city council to Congress). And, indeed, there already are people who are running for office, some as socialists, some on programs that are implicitly socialist, or that are based on principles that could be realized only through socialism. Examples: the three socialist city councilmen in Ypsilanti, Mich.; Burt Wilson's campaign for the California state assembly on a program of "public enterprise"; Tom Hayden's campaign for the U.S. Senate on a program of "economic democracy."

We must see this process as precisely that: a process that necessarily must be begun even if small or, as it must be,

in some places, ambiguously. But it must be begun, not avoided, as it has been since the early 1930s.

Of course, one could argue that Ypsilanti is unique—a college town with student wards. But Michigan State University is not exactly a hotbed of radicalism and there are dozens of similar college towns—from Berkeley to Amherst—that are more radical and in which a similar path could be followed. Similarly, there are several areas where socialist campaigns for state assemblies or Congress might be possible, especially if the organizers have a long-range perspective and will not become demoralized if they fail to have instant success. In our opinion there are few places in the U.S. where socialists now are active that one or another of the three forms of electoral activity indicated above is not possible.



Donna Allen

# The New York Times treats women to a rough time

Many people believe the sun rises and sets on the *New York Times*, but that doesn't include all of the women who work for it.

On Nov. 7, 1974, six of them sued the *Times* for sex discrimination in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination in employment.

The story is in the news again (or, rather, it should be) because a Federal District Judge has granted the women's suit status as a class action; that is, they may sue as representatives of the class: all 600 female employees at the *Times*.

Since you won't read about it in the *Times*, or anyplace else for that matter (except, of course, *Media Report to Women* whose business it is to provide the texts in such cases), here is the story.

Some of the facts were provided by insiders—*Times* newswomen Grace Glueck, Grace Lichtenstein and Betsy Wade—not in their news column but in an innocuous-sounding report entitled, "Building a Women's Caucus—An Informal Report by Members of the *New York Times* Women's Caucus," prepared to answer the many questions they received from women at other papers who wanted to know how to begin action against sex discrimination ("There were nine of us at lunch in January 1972 when our caucus began: there are 600 women employed at

the *Times*. So don't worry about starting out small.")

Here are a few more excerpts for fact and flavor:

"Always assume that one of your number is reporting your discussions to management... (Our notices and newsletters usually got to the publisher's mailbox the following morning. We knew this because leaks don't work one way only.)..."

"Seek out patterns that may prove a case of discrimination.... We picked a group of employees doing comparable work.... We found that the average salary of the 88 men was \$59 a week higher than the average salary of the 26 women.... Eleven male reporters were earning more than the most senior woman reporter and she outranked more than half of these men.... An obvious area of exclusion may be the category of vice president. We got hold of a table of management organization (T of O in the jargon) and counted the number of jobs on it (86) and the number of women (2). Try any area with the aura of machismo: sports news, building security, chauffeurs. But we found that there were no women in the photo-retouching department and no women photographers!..."

A year later the U.S. District Court answered the women's request for discovery, that is, for access to all the past employment records which they needed to docu-

ment their case; it granted the right to the preceding ten years' computerized employment data. On class action it said:

"Plaintiff's motion for class action determination will be deferred until such time as discovery has been completed in order that some showing may be made that the named plaintiffs have themselves experienced injuries at the hands of the defendant."

Now, another year and three months later, the Court made that class action determination: the six may represent all *Times* women, including correspondents and reporters in domestic and foreign bureaus as well as women who occupy posts as assistants to ranking executives.

The *Times* appears not to believe there is such a thing as discrimination. "Under defendant's view of the facts," the Court's Opinion said, "each of the plaintiffs, or her counsel, has simply propounded certain economic facts of her personal or work status and has inferred on a foundation of mere conjecture...that their respective employment situations are the result of discriminatory practices."

The Court disagreed.

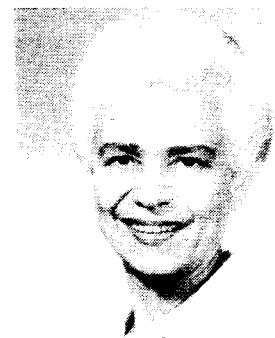
"Plaintiffs maintain that there are questions of law common to the class, namely 'whether or not the hiring, placement, salary and promotion practices of the defendant deprive the members of the class of civil rights secured to them

by law by denying them positions, salaries and other beneficial conditions of employment granted to similarly qualified men.' Defendant takes this to be a question of fact, rather than law, and argues that it fails to meet the common question requirement as each class member necessarily has particularized personnel grievances which, by their nature, require separate factual inquiries. The court is unable to accept this line of reasoning."

The *Times* also objected to the addition of Eileen Shanahan to the suit as a plaintiff. The Court disagreed again. "Defendant's objection is predicated on Ms. (the *Times* must have loved that) Shanahan's failure to file any charge whatsoever with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (as 80 others did). However, the court considers her claim to be clearly within the penumbra of other charges presented and therefore holds that it is proper."

The suit is now ready to proceed. It would be good to say that everyone will be watching to see how the women fare against the *Times*. But that wouldn't be very realistic. Given the news monopoly, how will anyone even know they won, especially other newspaper women employees who would like to do the same?

Donna Allen is the editor of *Media Report to Women*. Her column will appear regularly.



Roberta Lynch

# The fight against crime should involve the community

This is the second of two columns dealing with the social impact of increased crime in urban centers.

Beyond the tragedy of people who are driven—primarily by the futility of their social situation—to commit crimes, there is a larger social impact of the process I've described that affects the potential for popular organization. Particularly in the urban centers where this process is at its most intense, the growing hostility and fear contribute to a sense of passivity and a lack of collectivity among working people.

These feelings, make it more difficult for people to come together to affect change. They hurry by someone distributing leaflets, or don't answer knocks on their doors. They often don't go to community or union meetings in other sections of the city if they don't have cars.

Given that the roots of the problem are deep in our social system, interim solutions are necessarily piecemeal and limited. But they are essential. We need such programs because without them the drift toward repressive—and generally ineffective—tactics will continue. And because the ability of people to fight for other changes is closely linked to their feelings about themselves, each other, and their immediate environment. The fears created by crime are one of the barriers to organizing.

A more manageable scale.

To begin, we need to bring the fight against crime down to a more manageable scale. There have grown up efforts—sparked by the environmental movement—for land reclamation, saving our natural environment. Well, we need to begin a movement for reclamation of our streets and neighborhoods, a movement of people at the grass roots to reclaim their own environment. In doing this, we need to

Decentralization of the criminal justice system is needed. Chicago has now instituted four "neighborhood prosecutor's" offices. Citizen review boards for the police should also be revived—not only to keep watch on brutality, but also to insure that the police provide the services a community needs.

try to build an understanding of how both crime and the criminal justice system mete out unequal justice to minorities.

Such a program could begin (as one community coalition has) with a focus on getting the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency—which controls federal crime prevention funds—to shift its focus to community-based efforts. Another approach could involve getting people together to take more collective responsibility for each other's safety. Such a program need not smack of "vigilantism." It's a simple fact that the more people who are out on the streets—particularly when people actually travel together—the less chance of a crime.

This could involve "whistle-stop" programs that some community groups have instituted, in which people agree to call the police or provide assistance if a whistle is blown. It could mean setting up special transportation services for the elderly. Or people without cars organizing "walking pools" to do their weekly laundry or shopping.

►Decentralization.

On the other end, decentralization of the criminal justice system is needed. Chicago has now instituted four "neighbor-

hood prosecutor's" offices. These are special state's attorneys whose job is to work directly with community groups to determine what crimes are most destructive to the community and to place a priority on those cases. Grand juries could be brought to the communities, demystifying one element of the process of prosecution.

We need to revive and expand the idea of citizen review boards for the police. While keeping watch on police brutality remains an essential function, we also need boards to insure that the police really are providing the services the community needs. Why can't more police walk a beat? Why are some crimes barely investigated at all? Why don't police patrol high crime areas more often?

Measures such as these will not eliminate crime, but they can reduce its impact and give people a greater sense of control of their own situations—the reclaiming of their streets (and their homes).

►Prison reform.

But given the short-term limitations of any crime control program, we need to make the question of prisons a key element of our approach. I disagree with those who argue that our main focus should be on

community-based alternatives to prisons at this time. In most cases, such programs are imposed on an unwilling community and only contribute to an intensification of an atmosphere of fear. Unless communities welcome such proposals, we should continue to have our focus elsewhere—on prison reform.

Changing the inhumane conditions of prisons may not be the most immediately popular element of a crime control program, but it is essential that we build the widest possible support for it. If we are going to be party to a program that recognizes that in the short run people who commit crimes may need to be locked up, then we have both a political and moral responsibility to help to insure that they are not forced to endure barbaric conditions. And in time it should become increasingly possible to win support for this approach because all current statistics so clearly show that the present prison system is nothing but a breeding ground for crime.

On a deeper level, as Elliott Currie pointed out (*ITT*, Jan 26), we need to work actively for an end to unemployment and decent jobs for all. The link between rising unemployment and rising crime has been demonstrated in numerous studies. Now we need to bring this statistic to life and make the question of unemployment a vital part of an anti-crime program.

Finally, such a program should point to the root causes of crime. We live in a society whose values are linked not to creating a secure and supportive environment, but to the maximization of profit and economic growth. As long as capitalism remains the shaper of our lives, it will continue to exact a high cost of living.

Roberta Lynch is national secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.





## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## SPORTS

## Women's basketball lives in the shadow

By Nina Wolford

Over the weekend of March 25 Marquette University won the national college basketball championship for men, and Mississippi's Delta State won the women's title. Both teams played the same game and experienced the same glory in victory, but that is where the similarity ends. Where economics and publicity are concerned, the two teams are in different worlds.

Marquette's star guard, Butch Lee, was one of the most sought-after high school seniors in the country four years ago. Recruiters visited him daily and some 200 colleges, including Penn State, Maryland and Washington State, offered him scholarships. Lee chose Marquette, lured by promises of national championships and television appearances.

Lucy Harris, star center for Delta State's Lady Statesmen, decided to attend Delta four years ago because it was only 35 miles from her home in Minter City, Miss., and the school was planning to start up a basketball program that year. No recruiters visited her; there were no promises of stardom, even though she was one of the top players in Mississippi's strong high school program. When Harris started college in 1973, the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) national tournament was only two years old.

Now Harris' basketball career is all but over. She played on the 1976 silver medal Olympic team, was voted All-American three times and was most valuable player in two of the three national tournaments won by Delta State. Yet her name is not known outside of the state

*Lucy Harris's basketball career is all but over. There is no place for her to go.*

and she has never appeared on live national television with Delta State. She may play on the 1980 Olympic team, but for now she has accepted a job in the Delta State admissions office and has married.

#### ►Successful seasons equal dollars.

Marquette didn't train Butch Lee to work in their admissions office, they trained him to play professional basketball. He has been well-coached and advertised for the pros.

Thanks to the coaching, showmanship and hustle of Coach Al McGuire, Marquette's basketball program has blossomed over the last 20 years into a revenue sport with a national reputation and an athletic budget of "just under \$1 million," most of it generated from basketball ticket sales, television and radio revenues and the NCAA's cash prizes for tournament winners. Most Marquette games sell out the 11,000-seat Milwaukee Auditorium. In its last 13 seasons, Marquette has played in 11 NCAA and two National Invitation Tournaments. Each successful season converts into dollars.

Delta State Coach Margaret Wade played basketball for the college in the '30s. In her senior year the program was deemed too strenuous for women and phased out. In 1973 Wade was chairperson of the physical education department at Delta, a veteran high school coach and 60 years old. When she was offered the job of coaching the Lady Statesmen, she accepted. She thought it would be a challenge.

In her four years of coaching all of Wade's starters have been native Mississippians. "We mostly hang around in Mississippi for players," she says, "be-

cause we've got a very strong high school program here."

With local women, mostly sophomores and juniors, it took Wade only two years to take over Immaculata College's domination of the AIAW championship. She owes her success, she says, "to an outstanding group of young ladies," but is worried about next year since she is losing two starters—6'3" Harris and 6'1" Wanda Hairston.

#### ►Beginning recruitment.

Next year's team will not only look different but will sound different too. There will be freshmen on the team from New Jersey, Connecticut and Michigan. This change has been forced on Delta State by its competition. In this year's tournament second-place Louisiana State, which was not even rated in the top ten by *Sports Illustrated*, made it to the finals on the strength of two Australian Olympic imports.

But Delta State still has no official recruiters and no recruiting budget. "We recruit," Wade says, "but the people have to come here to look at us, we don't go to them. We got an admissions counselor here who wrote to some of the good players in the country and they been down here talking to us. I myself don't do any recruiting, that's all handled by the admissions office."

Wade also forgoes the responsibilities of her Women's Athletic Directorship, because she is kept busy enough just coaching the team. "We actually work under a man athletic director who watched violations for us. We had a banquet here for the girls and the Chamber of Commerce wanted to give gifts to some of the girls. There was even talk of giving Lucy a car, but the director has to OK all the gifts. We don't want to get into what the boys have gotten to—with all the money and illegal gifts."

#### ►No payoff for women.

At Delta State the women now outdraw the men's football and basketball teams. They sold out all their home games this year in the 3,750-seat coliseum, which earned the school \$100,000.

The Lady Statesmen no longer pay their own way to the national tournament, as they did the first year they competed, and no longer sponsor bazaars and bake sales to keep their team operating. The AIAW, run on a budget of under \$50,000, still offers no money for tournament winners, however, only a trophy and a reputation.

The NCAA, on the other hand, makes \$2 million on the men's tournament, and dispenses \$300,000 in prize money. Marquette was paid \$150,000 for its performance in the NCAA tournament. It played in three of the seven nationally televised tournament games. Marquette's media coverage not only advances the team's reputation, but also generates revenue.

There is little media coverage for women's teams, much less media revenue. The AIAW tournament received only line-score coverage in major city papers. While sports fans were bombarded with news from the NCAA tournament, few outside the South even knew the women's tournament was happening.

According to coach Wade, the women were well-publicized in Southern newspapers, and a tape of the game was aired locally on Louisiana educational TV about three weeks after the game was played.

Athletic directors from large state universities have been watching the modest growth of women's basketball with a



*No one recruited Lucy Harris. She went to Delta State because it was 35 miles from home and was starting a basketball program.*

wary eye. A few are now jumping on the band wagon and upgrading their programs with more money, facilities and better coaches.

UCLA has never reached the semifinals but now intends to with a budget of \$335,000 for women and a planned escalation to a half million by 1979. The University of Maryland is now interested in a national title and North Carolina is also suiting up a formidable team next year.

This trend can be viewed as reparation for women's long-standing inequality in sports, but that would be optimistic. It is just as likely that schools will be spending money with hopes of making money, upgrading a non-revenue sport into a healthy revenue-producing business.

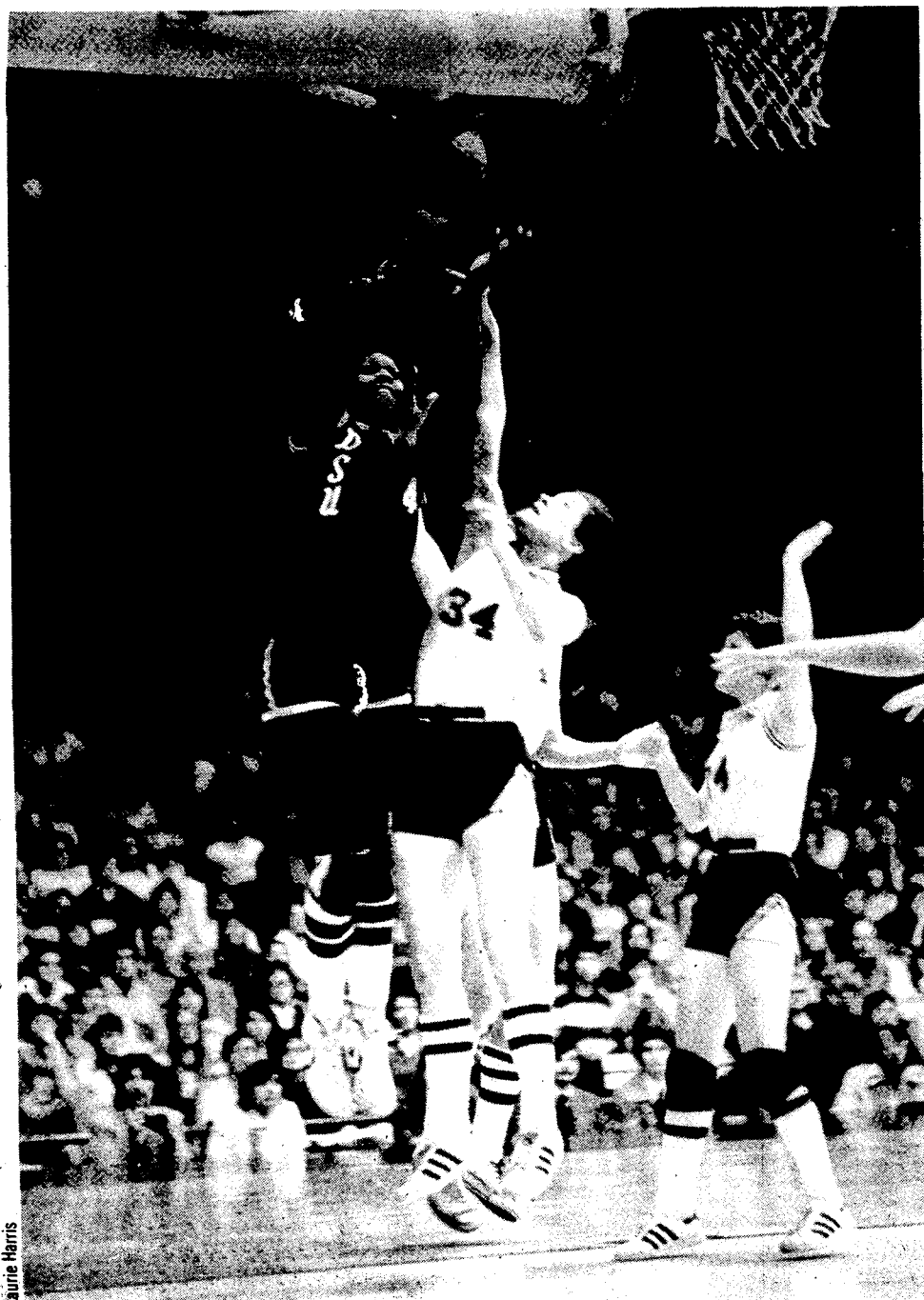
#### ►Troubling questions.

Whether women will be able to avoid, in Wade's words, "getting into what the boys have gotten to," is an important question for intercollegiate sports. Al McGuire, who is well acquainted with the machinery of revenue sports, told *Time* magazine that women's basketball had great potential for the future and asked, "How long will it be before the first under-the-table payola scandal over a 6'6" women's volleyball spiker?"

Will McGuire's prophecy be fulfilled, so that a "grass roots" team like the Lady Statesmen will be muscled out of the action by a female Al McGuire or the wealthy Bruins, or will Wade's "small is beautiful" philosophy prevail? Will big budget, state-supported women's teams become the bosses of intercollegiate athletics, or can they learn from the mistakes of men's programs and perhaps even trim some fat from the Ohio State's, the UCLA's and the Marquette's?

Though the inequity of women's sports programs cannot be condoned or continued, it is important to recognize that Delta State's crown is no less precious than Marquette's, even though it is less publicized and far less expensive.

Nina Wolford has written on women's sports for college and city newspapers in Wisconsin.





## LABOR

## A case history of "voluntary servitude" in auto

**THE COMPANY AND THE UNION: The "Civilized Relationship" of the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers**

By William Serrin

New York: Vintage, 1974, (2nd edition)

\$1.95, paper, 351 pages

On the night of Sept. 14, 1970, I was one of 340,000 members of the United Auto Workers who, for the first time in 25 years, struck the 138 facilities of the General Motors Corporation. That ten-week walkout against the largest business entity in the world was to be the most expensive strike in history. It was thus an unusual pleasure to compare my view from the bottom with William Serrin's fascinating inside account of the confrontation. Using the strike as a backdrop, Serrin has also raised important questions about the role of unions in American society.

Serrin writes in a readable, journalistic style that could have been a model for *The Final Days*. Academics may quibble with the lack of citations for his assertions and quotations, but virtually all the important details agree with what I experienced or picked up through the grapevine. I don't know if Leonard Woodcock actually did "sweat" in the last hours of negotiations, but Serrin is accurate when he describes the manipulations that made a mockery of democracy in the bargaining and ratification process.

The book is useful on several levels. As a case history, we get a rare view of the strategy and tactics in the modern collective bargaining relationship of a big union and a big company. It presents all sides as the negotiations, strike and, finally, ratification unfold.

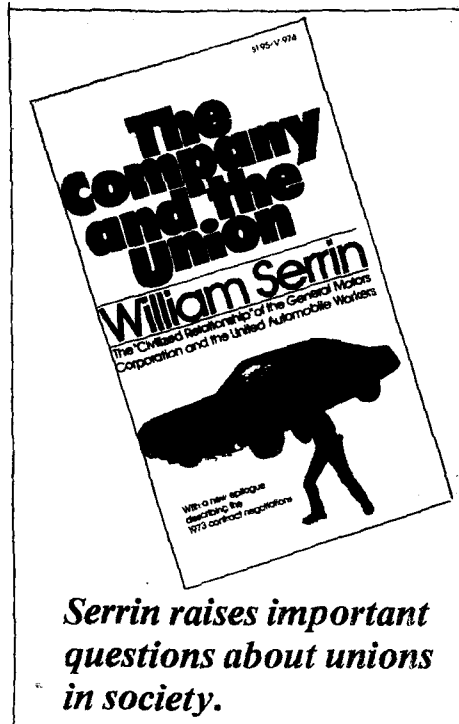
Serrin also describes the development of General Motors (or Generous Motors, as we in the plants fondly referred to our employer) into the model corporation: a mixture of centralization and decentralization run by committees of narrow-minded but skillful technicians. We see also the birth of the UAW and follow it from its faction-torn fledgling days to its current position as a leading force in the labor movement.

#### ►Abandoning working conditions.

The vivid passages describing the assembly line and its effects on the workers lead Serrin toward his sharpest differences with the UAW leadership. Those who have read major books on industrial work, such as *Man on the Assembly Line*, *Work and Its Discontents*, *Alienation and Freedom* and *Work in America* will be on familiar ground. But Serrin goes a step further. He accuses the UAW of abandoning the fight to improve working conditions in return for wages and fringe benefits (concessions that can be easily granted by a fat industry).

UAW President Leonard Woodcock responded quickly to such charges. In March 1973 as the first edition of the book was published he condemned the "enemies of our union" who "say we have never addressed ourselves to the workplace." A month earlier at the UAW's first production workers conference Woodcock had criticized the "academics" who are writing "elitist nonsense" about the "blue-collar blues." Then he added: "If some company said to us tomorrow, 'Okay, you do it, humanize the plant,' we wouldn't know where to start. We don't have the answers. Nobody does."

Serrin accuses the leadership of isolation from rank-and-file members who, he argues, don't participate in the union because they don't see it as a vehicle dealing with their day-to-day problems. Institutional factors in that relationship, however, are not adequately dealt with by Serrin. Missing from his analysis, for example, is the corrosive effect of the widespread trading of grievances in auto plants. Cynicism toward the procedure is so pervasive that most workers refuse to stick their necks out by filing grievances. (Despite this atmosphere there



**Serrin raises important questions about unions in society.**

were 250,000 written grievances in GM plants in 1969, reflecting only a fraction of the employees' complaints.)

The 1970 strike is portrayed as political rather than economic—a strike to win membership ratification. Woodcock had been propelled into office only six weeks before the negotiations. Serrin sees him as trying to prove his leadership capabil-

ities by showing the membership he was not afraid of the big and tough General Motors Corporation. GM, for its part, felt the workers needed the taste of a strike. The final settlement, Serrin concludes, was only six cents more than the traditional settlement formula would have provided. GM was willing to settle earlier, but Woodcock felt he couldn't have sold the agreement to the membership.

#### ►Voluntary servitude.

Serrin's sharpest words appear in the epilogue to the second edition describing the wildcats and voting disputes surrounding the 1973 negotiations. To Serrin the UAW is a "right-of-center union with a left-of-center reputation," led by "brokers, accommodationists...not of a militant union, an instrument for social reform, but of an insurance company that provides a work force for the corporations." He chides the union for not pushing the auto companies into developing mass transit, not using pension funds for low-cost housing and not fighting adequately against racism, sexism, poor working conditions, pollution, or for a voice for workers in the production process.

From my own experience, working in an auto plant should more properly be called "voluntary servitude." The role

of the union in this is complex. It certainly does bring a measure of security, protection and dignity unattainable in the old non-union days. On the other hand, the pressure for production is so intense that the combination of an inhuman work process with a primitive management has led to brutal working conditions. At the same time the union strives to channel dissatisfaction into "peaceful" and time-consuming grievance procedures that encourage worker passivity and apathy. It acts as if it has concluded that the rigid discipline of the assembly line is a necessary evil that cannot be combatted.

Yet, despite dissatisfaction, the rank-and-file clearly support the union. Hundreds of thousands of us walked out in the big strike although we knew virtually nothing about the union's demands. We learned through the media that Woodcock had announced that a "satisfactory" agreement could not be reached. Ten weeks later, after being told that we had "won," the overwhelming majority of auto workers who came to ratification meetings voted to return to work.

As Leonard Woodcock passes the UAW helm to Doug Fraser and the media discusses "new directions" for the union, William Serrin's book remains a timely attempt to shed light on a complex social process.

—Paul Rosensteel

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## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## DANCE

# Gregory's *Swan* has a feminist dimension

For three generations of Americans, "ballet" meant Russian and brought to mind Pavlova dancing the immortal Swan, or the astonishing leaps of Nijinsky, or the glamor of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo on their transcontinental whistle-stop tours of the '40s and '50s.

But times have changed. The U.S. is now the dance capital of the world—home to the American Ballet Theatre, a classical company of international stature, and the New York City Ballet, which, under the direction of George Balanchine, is a show-place for modern choreography. Regional ballet troupes have sprung up from Atlanta to Salt Lake City. Ballet has been added to the curricula of colleges throughout the country. And *Dance in America*, one of PBS's most popular series, reaches an audience of several millions of TV viewers every month. (The next "Live from Lincoln Center" to be aired on Thursday, June 2, will be the ABT's production of *Giselle*.)

Ironically, the big stars of the last few years in the U.S. have been a trio of Russian defectors: Rudolf Nureyev, who left Lenin-grad's Kirov company and the Soviet Union in 1961; Natalia Makarova, who left in 1970; and Mikhail Baryshnikov, 1974. In all three cases, there were storms of publicity, cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek* and prime time TV exposure.

Russians may be good for ballet promotion, but are they good for American dancers?

One answer is afforded by the case of Cynthia Gregory, who—according to critic John Gruen—"may emerge as this generation's first bona fide American ballerina." Gregory said in an interview



Cynthia Gregory as Odile, and as Odette

Martha Swope

published in 1973 that "when Makarova joined our company, the rest of us were pushed into the background. At least for a while, I personally felt resentful." A year later she suddenly "retired" at the age of 28.

Happily for American balletomanes the retirement was not irreversible. Gregory opened the ABT's season at the Met in New York in January and on April 18 dazzled audiences with a performance of *Swan Lake* that brought to the dual role of Odette-Odile a feminist dimension.

*Swan Lake* is perhaps the most complete dance statement of the 19th century myth of femininity. It recalls the Emma Bovarys and the Anna Kareninas of the period's literature and the tragic determinism that equated female sexuality with death. The plot—complex and ridiculous like most ballet plots—revolves around two

opposing images of Woman: Odette, the White Swan, is the ideal of romantic purity; Odile, the Black Swan, epitomizes the glittering sexuality of the temptress.

Both roles are performed by a single dancer, but as separate facets of the female *persona*—a projection of the era's (and the choreographer's) profound ambivalence of feeling about women.

Cynthia Gregory's performance as the Swan Queen has always been dramatically intense. But in her latest rethinking of the role she transcends the virgin-temptress split and concentrates on what is common to Black Swan and White Swan alike—their shared passion and spirit of independence. For Gregory, Odette and Odile are distinct aspects of a single human personality, an interpretation that chal-

lenges the notion that psychological fragmentation is synonymous with femininity. This marks an important advance for feminist balletomanes.

Odette as danced by Gregory this spring is no wilting maiden, but a full-blown woman. She does not beg for rescue, but pleads the case of her captivity with dignity. The majestic heights of Gregory's attitudes and arabesques stress tragic grandeur rather than romantic vulnerability. She commands the stage and dies tragically of her own accord.

The great second act duets in this version are performed as if they were solos. Traditionally the male dancer is little more than a porter with perhaps an occasional variation of his own to dance. But here Prince Siegfried seems downright irrelevant (although as danced by Ivan Nagy he is as gal-

lant a storybook prince as one is likely to find).

As Odette gains in emotional complexity and stature, Odile is diminished. Instead of playing the glamorous courtesan who stalks the pages of French novels, ruining morals and family fortunes, Gregory creates a Black Swan who is regally disdainful of the ceremonies of the court and the servile admiration of the prince. She is a woman whose sexuality has merged fully with the consciousness of selfhood.

It is a brilliant and strikingly original performance. Only six months after emerging from a premature retirement, Cynthia Gregory at 30 has entered her prime as a dancer, an artist and a woman.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola teaches comparative literature at Brooklyn College, and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

## MUSIC

# Seven issues of *Sing Out!* cover folk music scene

...the magazine's special points of view about how culture and politics have mixed it all up.

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To celebrate 25 years of survival, the editors of *Sing Out!* decided to issue seven special issues, each exploring an important area of people's music from the magazine's own special point of view about how culture and politics have mixed it all up. They are:

- Native American Music
- Black Music in America
- Songs of Labor Struggle
- Songs of American Women
- Music of La Raza and the Puerto Rican Nation
- English, Irish, Scottish Traditions in America
- Immigrant Traditions in America

The last issue comes off the press this week.

It is an exceptionally well-done series with an astonishing range: from the experiences of Sis Cunningham's Red Dust Players, organizing workers in Oklahoma in the '30s, to the role of music in

slave narratives, to the music (and life) of a Polish-Jewish garment worker, to a beautifully outrageous article on the vicious use of Scots-Irish traditional dance music in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*.

Reading through the seven issues reminds one of Joe Hill's funeral in Chicago with orations in at least 14 different languages. In this collection you will find Creek and Cherokee; Chicano, Filipino, Mexican and Puerto Rican Spanish; Arcadian and Haitian French; East Side New York Yiddish and Polish Yiddish; and all manner of ways of using English.

Every other issue contains a small record with the first verse, chorus and instrumentation of all the songs, so the need to read music is limited to three of the set of seven. And even for those there are plenty of references to records and books that put the songs in context.

There are "teach-ins" (music lessons) on the tin whistle, the Plains drum and the courting flute, the Bomba as played by the Congo drum, guiro, cowbell and base drum, dulcimer as a woman's instrument, Mance Lipscomb's blues guitar style, and a fiddle tune on the mandolin.

There are columns about instrument repair, Pete Seeger's ramblings and Michael Cooney's "General Delivery," which takes a verse sent in by a reader and locates the song to which it belongs. There are pages and pages of ads by small record companies, instrument makers, festivals and hints on where you can buy that musical saw. There are strange letters, long listings of books and records, obituaries to musicians who have died—Phil Ochs, Fannie Lou Hamer, Buel Kazee and Howling Wolf.

At some points the editors and their associates slip into what Woody Guthrie called

"those New Yorkies." I could certainly have done without their version of Baptist fundamentalist harrangues that passed for editorials in several issues. And there is reason for complaint about what has been left out. But these are all very, very small complaints.

What comes across is the tremendous depth and vitality of people's music and its accessibility.

The editors, Bob Norman, Estelle Schneider and Alan Senauke, should be praised for having dared and having succeeded in coming up with a people's slice of America.

The complete set is available at \$6.00, postpaid, from *SING OUT!* 270 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

—Josh Dunson

Josh Dunson is the author of *Freedom In the Air—Song Movement of the Sixties* and is currently working with Ola Belle Reed on her autobiography, *High On The Mountain*.



## FILM

## Nixon in nun's garb fails to grab

## NASTY HABITS

Brut Productions Film  
Directed by Michael Lindsay-Hogg  
Screenplay by Robert Enders  
Produced by George Barrie and Robert Enders  
Starring Glenda Jackson, Sandy Dennis, Melina Mercouri, Geraldine Page, Anne Jackson, Anne Meara

Considering the ingredients—the Watergate imbroglio set in a convent, with all the principals as nuns—this should have been an inspired farce. Nuns are always good for a laugh. They don't even have to do anything out of the ordinary (like fly) to appear comical. Give a nun a football helmet, or have her say something just slightly off-color and you've already got the ground set for giggles. The trouble is that the novelty of nuns, like anything else, fades. After two hours it disappears completely.

Glenda Jackson as the aspiring abbess of a Philadelphia nunnery once again falls into the what's-a-great-actress-like-you-doing-in-a-movie-like-this slot. Jackson is one of the most intelligent and interesting women in film today, but she habitually fritters away her talent in cheap vehicles like *A Touch of Class* and *The Romantic English Woman*. As the Nixon character Jackson projects too much dignity and little else, playing straight woman to the Haldeman/Erlichman nuns (Anne Jackson and Geraldine Page), who are generally lackluster and boring.

They all end up playing the stiff to Sandy Dennis's John Dean (Sister Winifred). Dennis is the only one in the cast who seems to sense that the essence of the humor doesn't lie in the mechanical repetition of the infamous deeds of Richard Mil-

hous (there is nothing amusing *per se* about the installation of bugging devices) but in their outrageous possibilities. Sister Winifred speaks in a constant, high-pitched whine; her resemblance to John Dean is inspired. She dons disguises and makes drop-offs of hush money for the Jesuit seminary in "men's powder rooms." Whenever Dennis appears, flashing her rabbit teeth and puzzled face, the screen comes alive.

Anne Meara is amusing as the bumbling, accident-prone Sister Geraldine (Guess Who).

The rest of the characters are flimsy, and some are downright irritating. Melina Mercouri makes several appearances as a missionary (Kissinger) figure, answering the hot line to the abbess from far-flung corners of the globe, against a background of the most banal and offensive ster-



eotypes of the local inhabitants of Siberia, the Congo, etc. Susan Penhaligon, as a liberated, power-seeking novice, seems to be Ellsberg and McGovern rolled into one, but it doesn't matter. The part is sloppily conceived and likewise executed.

The opportunity for significant political humor is lost in a welter of familiar Nixonisms, mouthed by Jackson, including the excruciatingly embarrassing punch line, "You don't have Sister Alexandra to kick around any more."

*Nasty Habits* has also been defused as religious satire—appar-

ently on purpose. No sooner are we acquainted with the fornicating, cigarette-smoking, foul-mouthed nuns, that we are switched to Rome where we learn that this order isn't really a Catholic one, but a self-styled "quasi" group of eccentrics. So much for any stabs at the Establishment.

Take the politics, religion and humor out of a religious/political satire, and whaddya got? A good reason to stay home and watch the Nixon/Frost interviews.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel regularly reviews films for *In These Times*.

## Powerful film of fascist coup



LA BATALLA DE CHILE, la Lucha de un pueblo sin armas  
(THE BATTLE OF CHILE, The Fight of an Unarmed People)

"We thought we were filming a documentary of the Chilean revolution to show the Chilean people," says Federico Elton, one of the five filmmakers who worked on *La Batalla de Chile*. "But it turned out we were actually filming the counterrevolution by the right, which we are now showing to the world." Elton spoke at the U.S. premiere of the film in Berkeley on April 20.

The filmmakers received technical assistance from filmmakers and leftists in France during the filming, he says. After the coup, the footage was smuggled out of Chile to France, finally being edited in France and Cuba. The director and producer were arrested but later released. The cameraman, Jorge Muller, disappeared in 1974 and his whereabouts are unknown. The film opens with a short and moving testimonial to him.

Sometimes using false credentials representing themselves as French filmmakers, sometimes as working for the rightwing Chilean TV stations, Elton and the

others were able to film several rightwing meetings and demonstrations, including the two major truck owners' strikes. The eye of Muller's relentless camera also plunges the viewer into the center of union meetings, CUT strategy sessions, demonstrations called by the UP parties, meetings of the neighborhood organizations, debates in Congress, speeches by the major left leaders, violent street confrontations between workers and police.

There is a clear intention on the part of the filmmakers to avoid judging the process they are recording, to offer people and events as evidence for the viewer, to weigh and analyze. However, the narration, though subdued and accurate, employs a left vocabulary that may alienate the uninitiated viewer. But to the extent that the material is presented in a detached way, its sheer force and density are deeply moving.

The three-hour film is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the desperate attempts by the center-right opposition to Allende to derail the government after they fail to achieve the Congressional majority needed to impeach him, using both constitu-

tional and (increasingly) unconstitutional tactics.

The second half deals with events in the weeks before Sept. 11 in which it becomes obvious to all sections of Chilean society that a fascist coup is being planned by the military. The workers and the poor begin to turn in desperation to total revolution, expropriating property and factories. This panics large sections of the middle classes, driving them into opposition to Allende, creating a base for the fascists.

The central theme of the film is the helplessness of an unarmed people against armed fascism. But it offers little evidence that Allende or the other UP leaders are to be blamed for this. Rather, it demonstrates that had Allende tried to arm the workers and peasants, this would have immediately been seized upon as a provocation by the right. Arguably it might have caused the fascist conspirators to move prematurely, but from where would the weapons have come? Guns are not free; they are quite expensive. And with the army purging its ranks of non-fascists, who would have trained a workers' and peasants' militia?

"There are many political problems presented by Chile, and we will not solve them tonight," Elton told his Berkeley audience. "What we do know for sure is that in Latin America, no matter how democratic we wish the revolution to be, there comes a time when we must be prepared to defend what we have gained." How this can be accomplished is the central question posed by this beautiful, heartbreaking work, which is a landmark in contemporary world history and the history of documentary film as well.

*La Batalla de Chile* is being distributed by Tricontinental Film Center, 333 6th Avenue, New York, NY 10014. They may be reached at (212) 989-3330.

—Lawrence Swaim

Lawrence Swaim is a former union official, now a full-time writer. His first novel, *Waiting for the Earthquake*, has just been published.



Ann Phillips

**"In These Times' spirit is inviting, not narrowly sectarian. You get a sense of solidity, of facts and ideas in constructive combination."**

—Gloria Steinem

## NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

A major feature on the new **feminist singers** by staff writer Judy MacLean, a reminiscence on the **50th anniversary** of a left-wing cooperative in New York, and a look at **unemployment insurance**

and what is happening with the fund backing it, **Diana Johnstone** from Italy, and Leonard Helfgott and David Mandel from **Israel** on the elections.

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## RECORDS

## John Cale surfaces from the Velvet Underground

## GUTS

By John Cale  
Island Records

With the break-up of the Velvet Underground in 1969, John Cale occupied himself with the production of art (or academic) rock. Between 1969-73 Cale, a classically trained musician from London, created *Vintage Violence*, *Church of Anthrax* (in collaboration with serial composer Terry Riley), the *Academy in Peril* and *Paris 1919*: musical works that maintained tenuous connections with rock, via the mind, but not the body.

When Cale switched to Island Records, his music turned toward the basic pulsating rhythmic pat-

terns associated with rock and roll. *Fear* (1974), *Slow Dazzle* (1975) and now *Guts* will allow critics to accuse Cale of going commercial. But these albums project a mainstream sound without sacrificing Cale's unique explorations into the macabre.

*Guts* is the celebration of the primitivism and violence inherent in rock music. Although the music may seem more accessible to Aerosmith fans, it has not been achieved at the sacrifice of artistic vision or intention. Every cut on *Guts* has to rock; it's this relentless drive that makes the album such a surprise. The music accommodates Cale's use of existing forms to comment on themselves, and in this sense the

artist functions as art historian.

Most characteristic of Cale's experiments is the radical restructuring of the audio mix, influenced by his continued association with the avant garde experimenters of the London rock world. The new mix is most significant on "Fear is a Man's Best Friend," and "Gun." The drums and bass are the dominant presence, flattening out the crucial melodic lines and re-arranging the audience's concept of how they should be experiencing sound, forcing listeners to reconstruct their sensations of the aural, attempting to create new musical awareness.

In these explorations Cale stretches the structure of rock

while maintaining its basic intelligibility. "Dirty Ass Rock 'n' Roll" is right out of the Leon Russell school, while "Guts," "Leaving it up to You" and the vicious "Helen of Troy," bear the unique Cale vocal and instrumental stamp.

The final cut, which is a re-interpretation of Elvis Presley's classic "Heartbreak Hotel," confirms Cale's basic philosophy. He loves the music, but needs to comment on and re-think it. This is accomplished through the manipulation of voice so that the new version is as evocative as the original it praises.

Its overall quality will keep this record off the top 100 charts. Cale's rock is too good for its

own sake; *Guts* will be stuck with the art rock tag, even though it is original music transcending categorization. Cale, who produced Patti Smith's brilliant first effort, *Horses*, remains one of the main influences of the art rock scene. By working with the innovators he remains fresh, in a medium whose main tenet sometimes seems to be exploitation. His work and influence proves that the intelligent perception of the basic form as art, rather than commerce, will enable such productions as *Guts* to continue.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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All of a sudden there is a problem about choosing which natural foods cookbook(s) you want on your kitchen shelf. Once you could get by with a couple of Adele Davis texts. Then discriminating eaters added the twin classics *Diet for a Small Planet* (Frances Moore Lappe, Ballantine Paperbacks, \$1.95) and *Recipes for a Small Planet* (Ellen Buchman Ewald, Ballantine Paperbacks, \$1.95).

But now there are dozens of others and the potential buyer needs help. IN THESE TIMES presents here a condensed version of a review of the current crop of health food cookbooks in *Nutrition Action* for April 1977 (1779 Church St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20036).

*The New York Times Natural Food Cookbook*, by Jean Hewitt (Avon Books, \$2.25) does not include much solid information on nutrition and relies too heavily on exotic (in the U.S. anyway) ingredients like bulgur wheat, tahini and sea salt.

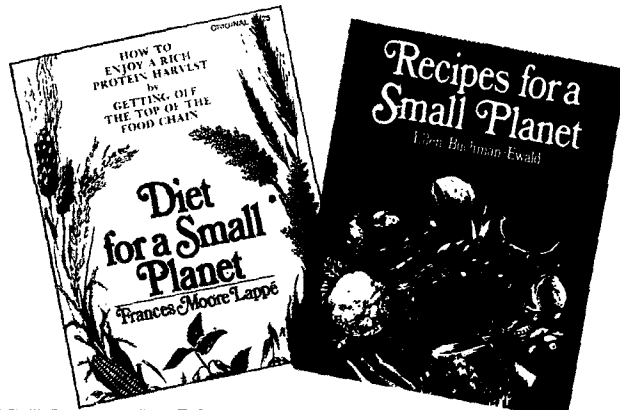
*Laurel's Kitchen*, by Laurel Robertson, Carol Flinders and Bronwen Godfrey (Nilgiri Press, Box 381, Berkeley, Calif., 94701, \$12.95). This comes highly recommended on all scores except price. It has 185 pages of tables, charts and explanations of basic

nutritional problems; good-tasting recipes; reliable directions for baking; and chapters on purchasing, planning a week's meals, feeding the pregnant mother and the young infant; even a recipe for vegetarian dogfood. Expensive, but a paperback version is promised soon.

*The Nutrition Survival Kit*, by Kathy Dinaburg and D'Ann Akel. R.D. (Panjandrum Press, 99 Sanchez St., San Francisco, Calif., 94114, \$5.95). This sounds like the ideal combination of good

## BOOKS

## Many natural food books available



recipes, information on nutrition, diseases related to nutrition and the politics of food. It is also well-written and humorous—and shorter than most books of this kind.

*The Art of Cooking with Love and Wheat Germ*, by Jane Kinderlehrer (Roddale Press, Emmaus, Pa., 18049, \$9.95). The author is an editor of *Prevention* and a grandmother. The text is divided into sections according to the age of the potential consumer; not organized for easy recipe finding,

but well-indexed.

*More-with-Less Cookbook*, by Doris Janzen Longacre (Herald Press, Scottsdale, Pa., 15683, \$4.95). Commissioned by the Mennonite Central Committee as part of its effort to help cut down America's disproportionate consumption of scarce foods without sacrificing good nutrition or pleasure in eating, it includes a section on gardening and preserving. It is criticized for weakness on the subject of diet-related disease.

*Cooking with Conscience*, by Alice Benjamin and Harriett Corrigan (Vineyard Books, Box 3315, Noroton, Conn., 06820, \$2.00) is a meatless cookbook, offering 52 simple, healthy meals based on combinations of grains and beans, milk and eggs. A few hard-to-get ingredients are called for, but directions are given on how to order these items in bulk.

*Soul to Soul, A New Vegetarian Cookbook*, by Mary Burgess (Woodbridge Press, \$3.95) is a vegetarian alternative to soul food, featuring blackeyed peas, sweet potatoes, kale and collards, beans and rice, and even catfish. TVP (texturized vegetable protein from soybeans) is used in many recipes, and there is still some question as to the nutritional advisability of this substitute. ■



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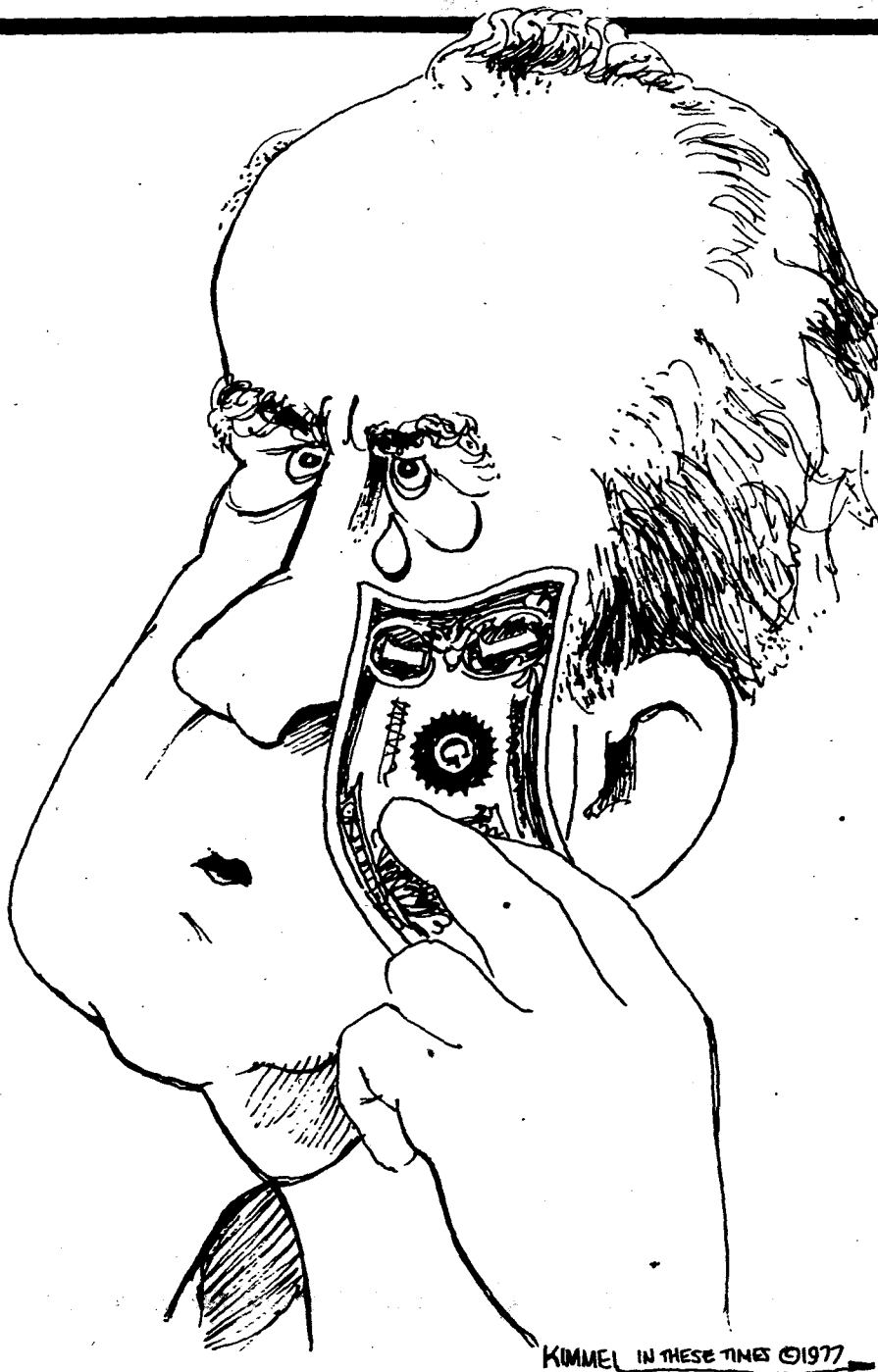
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# Son of Checkers: he's all heart



Since 1946 when Richard Nixon was first elected to the House the media have known that there has always been only one-Nixon: calculating, crooked, lying, anxious and insecure in the manner of overly ambitious men...

By James Aronson

The statistics are in. The first David Frost interview with Richard Nixon, according to Nielson, Arbitron, Gallup and all the rest, achieved an audience of 45 million. It thus proved to be the "most watched news interview in television's history," and one of the "highest-rated news broadcasts ever."

A few more statistics. Millionaire Frost stood to gain at least \$1 million from the broadcasts (national advertisers paid \$125,000 a minute) and millionaire Nixon about \$1.25 million (\$600,000 cash and 10 percent of the take).

There was one flaw in the statistics. It was not a news broadcast: it was the first program of a mini-series that I would title (for no fee at all), "Son of Checkers: He's All Heart." The planning, staging and financing of the program was a perfect cameo of the free enterprise system at work. And the media—press and broadcast—by their lavish free publicity provided a perfect cameo of how for 30 years they helped Nixon climb to power on the backs and necks of his victims.

It was all there in retching detail in print and on the air: the lonely figure holed up in San Clemente emerging for his obsessive golf, looking "surprisingly tanned and fit"; poor Pat's slight limp and hesitant speech; the loyal daughters

and sturdy son-in-law David Eisenhower; the Secret Service men and the autograph seekers.

#### ►Page on publicity.

But there was much more: page-one stories in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* the Sunday before the first broadcast, promising sensational new revelations, which proved simply to be confirmation of the commonly accepted fact that Richard Nixon is a liar. He became involved in the Watergate coverup, the *Times* reported, not on June 23, 1972, as previously believed, but on June 20! Sometimes it is hard to work up a page-one lead story on a Sunday.

*Time* and *Newsweek* each had a Nixon cover story. "NIXON SPEAKS," said *Newsweek*. "NIXON TALKS," said *Time*. He did neither: he nattered. (A natterjack is a brownish-yellow toad, usually with a long narrow yellow vertebral stripe extending to the head. Modern usage: "Nattering nabobs of nihilism"—Spiro T. Agnew, 1969.)

Every commentator and gossip columnist swung into action. There were dramatic stories about Frost's producer and staff confronting the interviewer as he was about to depart for one of his never-ending parties with the Hollywood set: You can't hack it, David; you're too soft on Nixon. Thus challenged, Frost took off

his dinner jacket, put aside his constant wines (Montrachet and Pouilly Fuisse), removed his gold cufflinks, rolled up the sleeves of his frilled shirt and got tough. Confess! he hissed at his fellow millionaire. Apologize!

Nixon, according to insiders, was so undone by this abrupt change that he became faint. A ten-minute break (or was it two days?) was declared for Nixon to regain his composure after which he was permitted a 30-minute soliloquy on the gentleness of his soul.

#### ►Everyone got in the act.

Startled by the effectiveness of the Watergate interview (scheduled to be the last broadcast), Frost moved it up to first place and leaked its contents to ensure a big audience—and customers for the advertising space still unsold.

For days after the first broadcast the sobersides on the Op Ed pages pontificated in yards of copy as to whether Nixon did or did not change public opinion about him. The pollsters, for their usual fee, ticked off further statistics: 31 percent, yes he did; 28 percent, no he didn't; 41 percent, gobbledegook.

The editorial balance was there too—the friendly-to-Nixon crowd (Safire, Buchanan & Co.), snarling at the liberals: Bleeding-heart bastards! What about Kennedy and the mafia? And Lyndon Johnson's back-room stag sessions with Martin Luther King Jr.'s bugged hotel-room tapes? How can you compare a few indiscretions like Watergate with these "White House horrors" (in the immortal phrase of a shocked John Mitchell)?

Round three: The where-are-they-now bunch—the White House Gang, in and out of jail, striving desperately to keep booty and swag together on the lecture circuit and in the corporate executive suites to which they had been banished.

#### ►Born again and not yet born again.

Charles Colson, ranking White House horror, now a born-again Christian planning a born-again movie of his book *Born Again*. There was never talk of hush money in the Oval Office, he said.

Jeb Magruder, chief assistant to hangman Haldeman, now born-again vice president of Young Life, a nondenominational Christian group in Colorado Springs. Return to Washington or New York? Heaven forbid! They are sin cities.

John Ehrlichman, not quite yet born again in the boiler room of the federal prison camp in Safford, Ariz., serving time for conspiracy and perjury: "sullied" by the first Nixon broadcast, he fired off (for a fee) 750 exclusive words of reaction to *New York* magazine.

Reactions also (for a fee) in *Newsweek*: E. Howard Hunt (What, me blackmail the White House? Never!); Leon Jaworski, special Watergate prosecutor ("Nixon was an active conspirator." Author's query: why did he not prosecute him?) Also, Pat Buchanan, Raymond K. Price, Nixon speech writer, and Carl Bernstein of Woodstein Inc.

And finally the editorial writers themselves, seated at the right hand of the Lord, asking how can these things be? How did it come to pass that we were gullible enough to place our trust in a man like Nixon for all these years? Is there a fatal flaw in the national character that has led us to this station? Perhaps if we turn back to the Lord.... But before we do that this message: Let us put Watergate and the whole ugly business behind us.

#### ►Conspiracy against the Constitution.

The stains will not vanish any more quickly than the legacy for which Watergate provides a convenient facade. Nixon and the men around him were neither paranoid nor psychopathic. They were carefully and deliberately seeking to implant in the public mind the belief that there

was a radical power conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution; that the Democratic party was somehow in collusion with this conspiracy. The Republican party had to be retained in power to thwart the conspiracy. The press, both mindlessly and mindfully, supported this view by its overwhelming endorsement of the Nixon candidacy in 1972.

Behind this camouflage of fear Nixon and Company were engaged in a careful and deliberate campaign to do precisely what they charged the "conspiracy" with seeking: to overthrow the Constitution and in effect to rule by executive decree.

Nixon was well on his way toward establishing a police-state condition when the whistle was blown at Watergate. There is convincing evidence, given the cast of characters involved in Watergate, that the Invisible Government wanted Nixon out because he was not playing by the rules of the game. He sought in his insecurity to gather too much power unto himself. This is an area that has never been fumigated and perhaps never will be. It would be too revealing of the real threat to the democratic process. Watergate is a convenient cover because it places the full onus on a discredited Nixon.

#### ►Nixon had always been known.

The facts, however, are that since 1946, when Richard Nixon was first elected to the House of Representatives, the media have known that there has always been only one Nixon: calculating, crooked, lying, anxious and insecure in the manner of overly ambitious men. Hush money, slush funds, blackmail and scurrility have been his stock in trade. Any newspaper worthy of the name could have sparked a chain of revelations that would have cut off his career as early as 1950.

The day after the first Nixon/Frost encounter, I was invited to bring a Hunter College journalism class to Channel 5—on New York's upper East Side—as the audience for a panel show titled "Midday." The discussion was to be about the first broadcast. Before the panel assembled, the host asked the students (on camera) for their reactions to the broadcast. They acquitted themselves admirably. Unable to resist a professorial prerogative, I posed a question to our host:

Would any network, in the interest of fairness and access, consider offering four 90-minute segments to Alger Hiss to present evidence to support his unyielding insistence on his innocence? The host looked at me incredulously. "They wouldn't get anyone to watch it," he said. I persisted: But isn't it basically a question of the responsibility of the media to the public, not to its profits? "Now you have a good point there," he conceded.

#### ►A tale of timidity.

That is the point, isn't it? It is possible that Alger Hiss, if he could be packaged and promoted into a \$125,000-a-minute commodity, might get a hearing on national TV. Possible, but not probable. In the first place, Hiss himself, a considerably freer spirit than Nixon, undoubtedly would object to being packaged. But a firmer objection most likely would come from the media itself, if the following tale of timidity is indicative.

A few weeks ago, David Levine, the brilliant caricaturist whose work appears mainly in the *New York Review of Books*, offered to the *New York Times* a drawing of a slightly sweating Nixon taking a lie-detector test. The drawing went through several departments of the *Times* and was turned down by all. We are in the political phase of the Nixon thing, the editors said, and the drawing implied a criminal situation. The drawing was then offered to the *Washington Post* which rejected it sight unseen.

See what I mean?

James Aronson teaches journalism at Hunter College and writes regularly for *In These Times* on the media.